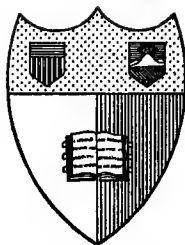


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NOAH PORTER

A MEMORIAL BY FRIENDS

EDITED BY

GEORGE S. MERRIAM

WITH PORTRAITS

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NOAH PORTER

NOAH PORTER

NOAH PORTER's boyhood was passed in Farmington, Connecticut, under influences peculiar to early New England and inherited in his family through several generations. He was of the fifth generation from Robert Porter, one of the eighty proprietors who settled Farmington in 1640, himself the son of a Puritan minister in England, who, on account of his non-conformity, had been ejected from the Established Church. Four successive generations were born on the Farmington homestead of Robert Porter, and three of its owners had died there, all having lived to an advanced age. They were farmers of moderate means, God-fearing, upright, respected men. Noah Porter bore the name of his grandfather and his father. The first of the name was distinguished for his intelligent knowledge and love of the Bible, gained, he said on inquiry, in his meditations as he followed his plough. His whole life, with the exception of a short time of service in the Ticonderoga campaign in the Revolutionary War, was passed in Farmington. His two older sons, Edward and Robert,— the sons of his

*Ancestry and
Youth. By
Miss Sarah
Porter.*

first marriage,—were both graduates of Yale College, and the elder, Edward, was in the early years of his manhood a Congregational minister, until forced by weak health to withdraw from the pulpit. Deacon Noah Porter intended to retain his youngest son, Noah, the only son of his second marriage, at home with himself, and accordingly changed his residence, in a way that throws interesting light on his character. In the beginning of the present century Farmington had become the center of a wide and busy trade, and with rapidly increasing wealth old restraints in morals and manners were thrown off. Deacon Porter was not willing to expose his son to the influences around him in the village, and removed his family from the old homestead to a farm a mile or two distant. But as his son, in growing older, showed aptitude for study, and a susceptible religious nature, by the advice of his pastor his plans were changed, and the son entered Yale with the definite purpose of serving in the Christian ministry. After his college course and his course of theological study under President Dwight were completed, it was the wish of Dr. Dwight that he should remain at Yale as tutor; but the beloved pastor of the Farmington church had very recently died, and the youthful parishioner accepted the call of the Farmington church as successor in the pastorate. Thus he returned to be the companion of the old age of his father, and lived for sixty years the beloved pastor of the Farmington church and people. He married, in 1808, Miss Mehetabel (better known as "Hetty") Meigs of Middletown, Connecticut, and Noah,

born December 14, 1811, was their second son and second child. The life in the boy's father's household was simple but not narrow. The children knew that the lives of their father and mother were controlled by the Divine Will and were elevated by heavenly communion, and that their dearest wish and aim was that their children should share in this life. The parents gladly sought and cherished for their children whatever might widen thought and knowledge, and the children early knew that life must be earnest, progressive, not worldly in motive or in plan. From early boyhood, Noah Porter, Junior, showed the traits that marked his mature years, — the eager, quick intelligence, the interest in men and nature, and in books as bringing him into acquaintance with men and nature. When nine years old, he had begun his study of Latin and other branches taught by Yale graduates in the Farmington Academy, then recently established. His few companions were his brother Samuel and four or five congenially minded boys of his neighborhood; and all parts of Farmington — the mountain, the river, the meadows — became their familiar haunts. In the blacksmith's, the carpenter's, and other working shops near his father's house, he was welcome, where he watched the ways of working with quick intelligence. In early boyhood as a helper in the home garden he gained that love of gardening which made it to the end of his life a pastime to him, and in the same way came his love of domestic animals. He sometimes said that he had had an important part of his education in going to and from the pasture — a mile away from his home — with the cows.

In his early childhood children's books were few, but books on various subjects were early a delight to him. The village library furnished many which his father's library did not contain — various travels, the Waverley novels, and for science the Edinburgh Encyclopedia. The Library meetings held once every month were an informal village club, where, with Governor John Treadwell, Hon. Timothy Pitkin and Edward Hooker as leaders, national, state, village and farm matters were discussed, while he and other boys were attentive listeners. At his father's fireside he heard the talk of these same men on morals and manners, religious truth and benevolent enterprises. Clerical friends of his father were also frequent visitors, and their not infrequent conversation on theological subjects made him familiar with and interested in these matters. Thus he grew — studying his Latin and Greek and mathematics in the academy under the genial care of Mr. Simeon Hart; never away from home for study with the exception of one summer in Winsted, under Dr. Hart's care and one winter in Amherst, Massachusetts, in the family of his uncle and aunt, President and Mrs. Heman Humphrey — Mrs. Humphrey being his father's only sister.

He entered Yale College in his sixteenth year, the smallest boy in his class, so that he was familiarly known as "little Noah Porter." He at once was ranked among the best scholars of his class, and he very early formed ties of intimate, inspiring friendship that endured for joy and strength until death interrupted earthly communion.

After entering college he never again lived continuously in Farmington, but it never ceased to be to him as home. He was, to the end of his life, keenly awake to its interests, and his ready help on all occasions of common interest — as the second centennial celebration of the settling of the town and the centennial of the dedication of the meeting-house — showed how true was his heart to his birthplace — the home of his ancestors.

My brother Noah was nearly two years younger than I; and till I entered college in 1825, we were together in the home and shared together in most things of the home life. When a child, he seemed to be of a delicate constitution, nervous, and wanting in muscular vigor. Even as late as his Sophomore year in college, 1829, he was undersized and round-shouldered. After that time I did not meet him till near the end of his Senior year, and was then greatly surprised to see how he had shot up, — tall, erect, and elastic in movement. From that time on till his later years he was physically vigorous, with a fair amount of muscular strength, reinforced and made the most of by an unusual share of nervous energy.

In his boyhood he took his share in the various “chores” which we boys had to do about the house and

¹ It should be said that both this contribution and the preceding one were intended by the writers only as notes for the editor's use, but I have thought the facts could be most effectively given in the simplicity of the original statements. — EDITOR.

the barn, — chopping, splitting, sawing, piling, and bringing in wood; feeding cows, horse, pigs, and chickens; driving the cows to and from the pasture field; besides work in the garden; and one summer we two boys did all the work of planting and cultivating and gathering a two-acre corn-crop. He also spent one summer at work on a farm — at what time I do not certainly remember — so that there was hardly any kind of farm-work of which he did not get some experience. It was the plan of our father to give each of his boys the benefit he believed they would gain in a single summer spent in this way. In after life he took great interest in the culture of his garden, and the care and skill he bestowed upon his grape-vines and pear-trees were in favorable seasons rewarded, to his great satisfaction, by an abundant variety of choice fruit.

The difference in our ages kept us apart in our studies at school. But in the summers of 1823 and '24 we took up the study of botany and pursued it together with a good deal of zeal and industry. We ransacked every locality to find specimens for examination and preservation, — getting up one morning before dawn to go with a friend deep into a swamp back of the meadow to find the side-saddle flower (*Sarracenia purpurea*). The first year we had no book except Eaton's *Manual*, with its purely technical and dry descriptions. But, learning that a new and enlarged edition of Bigelow's *Florula Bostoniensis* was to come out in the spring of 1824, we two boys saved up from our pocket money and gradually accumulated the sum, \$1.75, required for its purchase, and

were greatly delighted with its full and familiar descriptions. We gathered and preserved about five hundred specimens in a neatly prepared herbarium, which is, I believe, still in existence. We also made a small collection of minerals, and of arrow-heads and other relics from the old Indian burial-ground; and we diligently searched the broken trap-rock for specimens of quartz-crystals and phrenite. One of our joint undertakings was the carrying on of book-binding operations upon some loose pamphlets and numbers of the *Missionary Herald*, for which we had first to make our own tools and apparatus, copied from what we had seen in a book-binder's shop of the time. We obtained the screws for the clamp from an old spinning-wheel which had not long previously fallen into disuse and was stored away as lumber in the garret. In all these things we worked together harmoniously and with equal zeal and diligence, though my brother's enterprise and ingenuity contributed largely, if not mainly, to such success as we attained. We had a great longing for a work-bench and tools for working in wood; all that we had were a "shave" or drawing-knife, a saw, axe, and an auger of quite primitive fashion.

Owing probably in the main to the physical constitution and condition above alluded to, my brother was in his early days subject to occasional outbreaks of passion, on being disappointed or crossed or hurt in any way. This was in his childhood regarded as one of his faults.¹

¹No manifestations of this trait are remembered by Dr. Porter's sisters.

If any tendency in that way continued to inhere in subsequent years, it was kept under such control as not to be apparent as a trait in his character. He was also originally of a timid disposition. This appeared in after life only as a prudent cautiousness, which was well tempered by a hopeful, sanguine vein. This combination was such as to make him enterprising and progressive, and at the same time conservative and safe.

Both of us, as boys, were opposed to innovations of fashion; and we stoutly resisted the adoption of the sibilant sound of *tu* and *du*, as in *nature*, *verdure*, etc., then coming into vogue or recently introduced in Connecticut by means of Walker's Dictionary.

In his boyhood, as ever after, he was of a genial, companionable, sympathetic nature, and he was in close and intimate friendship with two or three boys of his own age, who were all of exceptionally fine character. Harry Wadsworth, with whom he had the closest companionship, was a boy of a somewhat romantic turn, which made him fond of personating knights and heroes of olden time, of which in some cases he may have got the idea from the poems of Sir Walter Scott. We had in the village library the most part of the popular literature of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. But the book that most of all interested us as boys was *Riley's Narrative*, a harrowing tale of shipwreck on the coast of Africa, and perils and suffering in passing over the desert as captives in the hands of Arabs or Moors.

Among the leading traits in the character of my

brother was an extreme tender-heartedness, though never ostentatiously exhibited and known only to his quite intimate acquaintances. It was not only for those of his own family and kindred, but for any one in suffering and distress and for brute animals as well.

My first acquaintance with President Porter was on my entering college in the autumn of 1828, when I became a member of the Sophomore class which he had joined in its Freshman year. We were both natives of Connecticut, and sons of Congregational ministers, and were naturally drawn to each other. Being members of the same class division, and of the same college society (the Linonian), we were thrown together a good deal, and the acquaintance thus formed gradually ripened into a close and affectionate and lifelong friendship.

*Student at
Yale. By
Rev. W. W.
Andrews.*

I was almost two years older than he, and had had a somewhat more diversified experience, and I became to him a sort of elder brother, to whom he came for sympathy and free and genial intercourse. He was one of our youngest men, but was distinguished even then for accuracy of scholarship and clearness and precision of thought and utterance. At that time he excelled in mathematics, for which his logical acumen specially fitted him.

The time of our academic course almost immediately preceded those fierce and bitter discussions of the slavery question which had the effect of greatly diminishing the

number of Southern students in Northern colleges. Our class had members from most of the states below Mason and Dixon's line; from Virginia and the Carolinas, from Georgia and Florida, from Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama; as well as from all the Middle States and New England. This mingling of men from all parts of the Union in the hearty social intercourse and scholastic pursuits of college life had the effect of softening sectional prejudices, and of binding us together by ties which in many cases proved stronger than the strifes of war. This combination of diverse elements in college society tended to produce breadth of character and catholicity of spirit, and was good for both North and South.

It was a time everywhere of intellectual activity and of social and political agitation, by which we, as students young and enthusiastic, could not but be stirred. In Europe the reaction towards despotism from the excesses of the first French Revolution, which had been overwhelmingly strong for some years after the final defeat of the first Napoleon, was beginning to give way. We saw during our collegiate career the liberation of Greece secured, the Bourbon dynasty in France overthrown, and that rising tide against old restrictions in England, culminating soon afterwards in the Reform Bill, which many looked upon as a fundamental change in the policy of the kingdom.

A new spirit was in the air. It was eminently a time of hope and sanguine expectation. Faith in our own national institutions and destiny had not then been shaken by the growth of corruption nor by civil strife.

Radicalism had scarcely begun to show its dissolving and destructive spirit; and for the evils that were seen and felt, abundant and adequate remedies were believed to be within reach. We were dreaming of great possibilities in the future, and this without the subversion of the old Christianity, or the overthrow of the old social structure.

The poetry of Byron was then in the height of its popularity; Scott was still pouring forth his fascinating stories as in an endless stream; Macaulay and Carlyle were just entering on their brilliant careers as reviewers and essayists; Wordsworth was rising into reputation as the poet of nature and man, admirable for the calm wisdom, not without flights of lofty imagination, with which he portrayed their various aspects, and drew from them purest lessons of natural religion; and Coleridge was coming to be recognized, not only as a poet of creative power and weird beauty and splendor, but as the great Christian philosopher of his time.

In the midst of this quickening of intellectual and spiritual life, it was our good fortune to have for our instructors the best representatives of the New England of their day, who had been trained themselves under the sober and conservative influences of the old regime and had no sympathy with the radical and revolutionary spirit which was even then beginning to show itself. President Day was ruling and teaching with his unsurpassed sobriety of judgment, and calm, clear intellect; Professor Silliman, Senior, was lecturing with unaffected elegance and giving all possible attractiveness to chem-

istry, mineralogy and geology; Professor Kingsley, the acutest of critics and the most thorough of scholars, was disciplining us in accurate scholarship, and inspiring us with an abhorrence of shams; Professor Goodrich, overflowing with enthusiasm, was training us in rhetoric and oratory and setting before us the great model of eloquence in *Demosthenes De Corona*; Professor Olmstead, whose zeal never flagged, was our teacher in mathematics and astronomy; and Professor Fitch, the college pastor and preacher, was in turn perplexing us by his metaphysical subtleties and thrilling us through and through by his matchless pathos.

The class was not distinguished for its attainments in natural science, although we had such accomplished teachers. The foremost men gave themselves to classical studies, but especially to metaphysics and moral philosophy, and were more interested in those studies which used to be called the *humanities*, as dealing with man, than in those having to do with the outward, material creation — the sphere which is below him and over which he is to bear rule.

In this "the child was father to the man." The subsequent history of the class shows that not in physics, nor mechanics, nor the arts, have their greatest successes been won, but in logic and philosophy, in theology and politics. Out of a class of eighty-one, thirty-two or three have been clergymen, of whom two are bishops in the Protestant Episcopal church; three have been professors in colleges and theological schools, two have been foreign missionaries, two governors of states, two members

of Congress, one of the House of Representatives, the other of the Senate, three have been ministers from our government to foreign countries, one a major-general in the late Civil War; one a Secretary of State, sixteen have been lawyers, eight physicians, two teachers of the deaf and dumb, and others private teachers, editors, bankers and merchants. J

The moral and religious atmosphere of the college was wholesome. The spirit of the instructors was reverent, the old Christian faith was held with unshaken steadfastness, God was honored by daily morning and evening prayers in the chapel and by two services for preaching on Sundays; and at these all the students were expected to be present, liberty being given to those whose parents desired it, to attend the Episcopal church. No doubt, many felt these never-ceasing services to be a burden, especially the six o'clock service on cold wintry mornings; and the evening service at five often interrupted their walks and games; but there was in it all a devout recognition of God and a subordination of ease and pleasure to his worship, which could not fail of drawing down his blessing on the college and of being a moral and spiritual help to the students. I need not say that Mr. Porter was one of the most punctual in his attendance.

The pastoral oversight of the students was interfered with by the peculiar temperament of the college pastor. A man of great intellectual power and of deep spiritual emotions, Professor Fitch was precluded from much personal intercourse even with the members of the college

church by his extreme diffidence. He could scarcely speak at all extemporaneously, and it was almost painful to hear him attempt to give an unwritten notice, which he always did with stammering lips. The pulpit was his throne, from which he wielded a sceptre of peculiar and in some respects unrivaled power. The rule then was for the college pastor (who was also professor of didactic theology) to give on Sunday mornings a course of lectures on systematic divinity occupying four years, so that each class might have the benefit of the entire course. Being a profound metaphysician, he often led us into depths of abstract speculation which most of us were unable to sound, especially in the early years of our college life. But this was often atoned for by his afternoon services, which were generally on more practical subjects, and sometimes full of heart-breaking tenderness. I remember one in our Sophomore year on "College Dissipation," which moved many to tears and made our wildest and boldest to quail.

The lack of pastoral care through this mental infirmity of Professor Fitch, was in part supplied, especially in the great revival of 1831, by the loving labors of Professor Goodrich. The years 1830 and 1831 were remarkable in many countries for religious and spiritual as well as political movements. It was in the beginning of our Senior year that the college felt the power of the new life which was then stirring England and Scotland as well as our own land. Our class was greatly moved. The Christian men belonging to it were stirred to most earnest labors and prayers in behalf of their classmates,

and the preaching of Professor Fitch became more powerful and practical. He was aided in the pulpit by Rev. Nathaniel W. Taylor, and occasionally by President Day, one of whose counsels to young believers made a strong impression at the time. "Make your religion the foundation of your hope, and not your hope the foundation of your religion" — most true, as he meant it, though it is also true that our religion begins by hoping in the mercy of God. During this season of great religious activity and emotion, Professor Goodrich labored with fervent zeal and spiritual enthusiasm, gathering the students to his room for personal conversation, and holding familiar meetings for the guidance of the inquiring.

As a fruit of this mighty religious movement, a large number of the class were brought to make a public profession of the Christian faith, and to become communicants at the Table of the Lord. Many of these had been received into the Christian fold in infancy and childhood, and had been under religious training and influences; and the effect of this outpouring of the Spirit upon them was to quicken and fructify the seed sown long before, and watered with prayers and tears. As a member of one of the best of the Christian families of New England, Mr. Porter had had such a training, and his blossoming and fruit-bearing in his college life were the proper results of all the influences by which his childhood and early youth had been encompassed.

Amongst the intellectual helps which we found, apart from the regular course of instruction, were the literary

societies, of which there were three, — the Linonian (of which Mr. Porter was a member), the Brothers in Unity, and the Calliopean; the last (which has long been extinct) consisting chiefly of students from the South and from the great cities of the Middle States. At this time all these were in the height of their prosperity, and all the students without exception, I believe, were gathered into one or other of them. It was just before the formation of the secret societies which have since played so important a part in college life, and ultimately weakened the influence of the older brotherhoods, by forming narrower circles into which the most vigorous intellectual life of the college is drawn off. However useful these smaller fraternities may be in cultivating more intimate friendships, and furnishing intellectual luxuries of esoteric discussion, they cannot supply the place of the larger societies, which were arenas of earnest debate and schools of eloquence where we were trained to grapple with the great questions of the day, and were kept in touch with the movements of the political and intellectual worlds. The audiences were larger, and made up of greater diversities of character and differences of age, and so more like the popular assemblies of real life. A living interest was given to abstract principles, and we seemed to pass from the groves of the Academy to the stirring discussions of the Forum.

It was in the later years of our college career that Mr. Porter began to take an active part in our society debates, from which his boyish diffidence kept him back for a time, but for which his quick perception and ready utterance

eminently qualified him. With increase of confidence in himself and growing ripeness of intellect, he became an excellent debater; and had his theater been the bar or the Senate-chamber, he would have stood in the front rank for logical acumen and power of clear presentation.

Another potent source of influence upon his intellectual and spiritual development was the literature of the time, and especially the writings of Coleridge, whose *Aids to Reflection* was republished during our college course, through the influence of President Marsh of Burlington University. It was, I think, towards the close of our Junior year, that I bought the first copy of this book which was sold in New Haven. I had read several years before his *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, and thinking that anything written by the author of such a poem must be worthy of attention, I hastened to get it, and it soon became the text book of a little circle in which Porter and Atwater (afterward professor of logic and moral philosophy at Nassau Hall) were conspicuous for their enthusiasm.

It was a book for thoughtful study, not for hasty and superficial reading, and we soon came to value and admire it for the insight it gave us into the deep, underlying principles on which Christian philosophy must rest, and which furnish the key to the structure and history of humanity. It is scarcely too much to say that it wrought in us a great intellectual and spiritual revolution. It taught us the art of thinking, or of referring facts to principles, and of looking below the phenomena of the moment or the age to the imperish-

able truths which give them their meaning and value. We learned from Coleridge what it is which distinguishes man, made in God's image, from the inferior animals, viz., the Reason by which we are capable of knowing Him and having communion with Him, in distinction from the Understanding, the faculty of adapting means to ends for the uses of this present life. He taught us the nature and place of ideas, or central and formative principles, in contrast with fleeting opinions without depth or life; the one "the master light of all our seeing"; the other the insubstantial shadows which chase each other over the plain and leave no trace behind them. Corresponding to this fundamental distinction, essential to the right apprehension of humanity, we learned from him also the distinction between the Imagination, the creative power which organizes into unity the materials furnished by the soul within and the outer world of the senses, and gives to them new forms and breathes into them a new life; and the Fancy, which creates nothing, but illustrates by combinations, beautiful or grotesque, which have in them no root of truth.

We found in his writings, also, a sure antidote to pantheism and materialism, in their teachings about God, living, personal and triune, in his relations to the creation brought forth by Him and filled with symbols of spiritual truth, but never to be identified with Him. Nor did he find in nature or in man any substitute for Divine Revelation by his Word and Spirit, but held up the Bible as the inexhaustible storehouse of truth concerning God, and the inspired record of the work of

redemption through the incarnation, death and resurrection of his only-begotten Son. While affirming the moral freedom of man as the ground of his responsibility, he refused to make him the self-sufficient worker-out of his own salvation, but insisted on the helps and succors of the Holy Spirit.

He was, in short, a Christian philosopher, who used his marvelous power of philosophic insight as the ally of the Christian faith, by showing its harmony with those facts and principles which Revelation presupposes. And although often in error in the interpretation of Scripture (to which he seemed sometimes to bring a mind too full of his own thoughts to be a docile learner or passive recipient), he taught us, more than any other man, the *laws* by which it is to be interpreted, and gave us a key to the opening of its mysteries. We saw under his guidance that the Bible was an organic whole, which had had a living growth from the seed planted in the Garden in the first promise, to the glorious fruitage in the new heavens and the new earth; and that the whole sacred history was prophetic, events and persons being at once fulfillments and prophecies. It became to us a living Book, every part of which had relations to the whole, and could never lose its use and power till the complete accomplishment of the Divine purpose centering in the Incarnate Son.

The same truths of the organic and the symbolic, Coleridge applied to the ordinances of God appointed for man,—the family, the state and the church. He taught us to see in these a divine authority and symbols

of heavenly truths ; representations on the earth of super-sensible mysteries, by which our life is linked with the unseen. This gave to them a sacredness and stability which effectually guarded us against the radicalism which was then beginning to dash itself against the old foundations of Christian society.

I have dwelt longer on the character of Coleridge's writings than might seem suitable to this brief sketch, because of the strong influence exerted by them on Mr. Porter during the later years of his college life. As I have already said, the time was one of transition. We were entering on a new era. New moral and spiritual forces were coming into play ; the old principles on which society had rested were beginning to be assailed ; and a humanitarian movement was being inaugurated, in which man, not God, was to have the foremost place. Coleridge had seen the temporary triumph of such principles in the French Revolution, and in early youth had sympathized with them, as did many other noble spirits, hoping for a brighter day for the oppressed nations. He was eminently fitted, therefore, when recovered from this youthful glamour by the frightful excesses of that national uprising, to point out its fundamental errors, and to guard young men against all like evil fascinations. This he did by vindicating the essential dignity of man as growing out of his relations to God — a dignity lowered but not destroyed by his fall ; and the divine character and permanence of the institutions which are for the moulding and defense of humanity. And Mr. Porter and his fellow students in this inner school ever ac-

knowledgeed their obligations to their great teacher in thus early implanting in them the imperishable principle of a sound conservatism.

But Coleridge was a poet as well as a philosopher. He was the noblest example in our time of the union of deepest insight into spiritual philosophy with the imaginative power of clothing his intuitions in forms of surpassing beauty. His marvelous felicities of language, fit vehicle both for the weird splendor and the touching tenderness of his creations, had a great influence upon us all, especially Mr. Porter, and here was thus supplied to him what had been lacking — the awakening of the imaginative faculty. Intellectual clearness, precision of statement, accuracy of reasoning — all these he had had in large degree, but they began now to be quickened and elevated by the buddings of another power. The skeleton began to clothe itself with flesh, and dry metaphysics to put on the bloom of life.

In respect both to thought and expression, Mr. Porter was greatly profited by the study of Coleridge. In facility and felicity of utterance he grew rapidly in our Junior and Senior years. I do not remember a more striking growth and transformation, intellectual and spiritual, than took place in him from the beginning of our Sophomore year, when I first knew him, to the time of our graduation. The sprightly boy had developed into the strength of manhood. The features of his subsequent character began to be clearly seen. Intellectually, he was of great accuracy and quickness in his mental movements, able to grapple with any problems,

metaphysical or philosophical; a most acute reasoner, and a master of an exact and perspicuous and ofttimes glowing style. Morally, he was of great simplicity of character, of a most genial disposition, broad in his sympathies, steadfast in his friendships, and of spotless purity of life. Spiritually, he was reverent, believing, of a catholic spirit which could see and appreciate goodness and truth beyond the limits of sect or party, while holding steadfastly the great realities of the Christian faith. Such was Noah Porter at the close of our college course.

I have said little, for there was not much to say, about our physical training. College athletics were then in feeblest embryo. We had a poorly furnished gymnasium, not much resorted to, if I remember rightly; a little base-ball, without the modern refinements and complications; an occasional game of football, but no rowing as an art for intercollegiate competition. Our exercise was chiefly walking. East Rock and West Rock, West Haven and Hampden, Saltonstall Lake and Oyster Point, and in the summer East Haven with its delightful Morris Cove, were our chief objective points, and as we generally went by twos and threes, we added to the physical exercise the refreshment of intellectual converse.

After we left college, we were both engaged in teaching for the next two years, after which he became tutor, and I entered on the Congregational ministry. In 1834 I was ordained pastor of the church in Kent, Litchfield County, Connecticut, and in 1836 he was ordained to the

same office in New Milford, a large and wealthy township in the same county. Our parishes bordered on each other, and for seven years our intercourse was frequent and most affectionate. For a part of the time, we preached for each other the lecture preparatory to the Communion, he coming upon the Thursday before and I returning with him the next day. We exchanged pulpits at other times also, and assisted each other in week-day services in seasons of religious awakening.

His preaching was marked by clearness of thought and accuracy of language, and often by great directness and force as addressed to the conscience. I have heard him at evening meetings, when unhampered by manuscript, and in touch with the strong religious feeling of the hour, speak with very great power and effect. But, as a rule, it was addressed to the understanding, rather than to the emotions, and was didactic rather than rhetorical. His pastoral ministry was a helpful stage in his spiritual history, for it took him out of the region of abstract philosophical speculations and brought him into contact with spiritual realities. This secured for him an interpenetration of life and thought. He was saved from being a mere speculative theologian on the one hand, and a mere religious exhorter on the other.

He had large sympathies and unusual power of adapting himself to all conditions of human life and of entering into its trials and joys and sorrows. His simplicity was perfect, showing itself in the utter absence of ostentation, arrogance, and self-conceit, and in a most attractive childlikeness of spirit. He thus won the love of

men in a remarkable degree, while he commanded their respect by his talents and his faithfulness.

Of his history after leaving New Milford, others will more fitly speak. Our intercourse was, of course, less frequent, but it was never interrupted, save as distance separated us. We met almost year by year, as long as we lived; and no differences in our spiritual judgments ever weakened the strength and warmth of our friendship. The void in my heart which his death has made will never be filled in this life, and I look forward with joyful hope to the renewing of these ties, when all shall be made new at the coming and in the Kingdom of our common Lord and Saviour.

Reverting to our college days, I may mention some members of our class who were then and afterward his friends. Among these was Rev. Lyman H. Atwater, professor of logic and political science in Nassau Hall, New Jersey (and also of moral philosophy before the accession of Dr. McCosh to the presidency), a man of great intellectual vigor, who discussed, as editor of the *Princeton Review*, the religious and moral questions of the day with signal ability, a stanch defender of the old Calvinistic faith, who, although wholly of New England training, threw himself heart and soul into the cause of the Presbyterian Church. He was one of the most intimate and valued friends of Mr. Porter, who was called on to pronounce his funeral address.

If less distinguished in scholastic studies, yet with larger elements of popularity, was Thomas M. Clark, now Bishop of the diocese of Rhode Island, who as a

preacher is master of a winning and persuasive eloquence, as a churchman is broad in his sympathies, and as a man overflows with genial pleasantry and humor.

Next to him, the name of William Ingraham Kip comes into mind, who died recently, Bishop of the diocese of California, eminent in college for his elegant manners and as a *belles-lettres* scholar, who afterwards had the advantage of foreign travel, the fruits of which are seen in his writings on Rome and the catacombs.

In another field of labor, Dr. Peter Parker has achieved an almost world-wide reputation. He joined the class in the very last year of its course, and was, I believe, its oldest member. He was too late to be distinguished as a scholar, but he was greatly honored and beloved for his wise and faithful labors in the great revival of 1831. To qualify himself for greater usefulness as a missionary, he attended the anatomical lectures of Dr. Knight, while pursuing his theological studies. He chose China for his field, and there his great steadiness of hand and firmness of nerve under (as he firmly believed and devoutly acknowledged) the special benediction of God, gave him remarkable success in the most difficult operations upon the eye and in removing cancers, so that he was called upon to practice in the highest circles of the empire, and in the families of distinguished foreigners. He rendered valuable assistance to our government as an interpreter, and for a short time was our minister plenipotentiary to the Celestial kingdom. The last years of his life were spent in honorable retirement from public duties in the city of Washington,

where, possessed of an ample fortune and surrounded by a large circle of friends, he took an active part in the benevolent enterprises of the day.

Another missionary was George Champion, a man of burning zeal and self-sacrificing spirit, who, born to the inheritance of wealth, relinquished his worldly prospects to carry the gospel to Africa. He met with an early death.

Foremost as a scholar was Edward Winthrop, the valedictorian of his class, an indefatigable student and accurate scholar, a man of guileless simplicity, and a most earnest and zealous preacher in the Episcopal Church. He was at one time professor of sacred literature in the Episcopal seminary at Louisville, Kentucky. The failure of his voice interrupted his pulpit labors for a time, and so impaired their efficiency as to withhold him from the more prominent and laborious posts in the later years of his life.

With him I may name as co-presbyters, James H. Fowler, the faithful and beloved rector of the Church of the Epiphany in Philadelphia till his death; Dr. Edward Ingersoll, an intimate associate of Mr. Porter's in their college days, whose pastoral work during his long life was chiefly in Buffalo, New York; Hugh T. Harrison of Ellicott Mills, Maryland; and P. I. Babbitt, whose later years were spent in Georgia.

Amongst those who have fulfilled ministries in the Presbyterian and Congregational churches, and many of whom were very dear friends of Mr. Porter, I may name Dr. John G. Atterbury, long of New Albany, Indiana, a

brother beloved, of excellent gifts and admirable spirit; Elisha C. Jones, for thirty-five years pastor in Southington, Connecticut, of highest esteem throughout all the state for his wisdom and sound-mindedness; Dr. Beach Jones, a native of South Carolina, who fulfilled a long pastorate in Bridgton, New Jersey, with ever-growing influence till its interruption by the war; Keith Legare, also of South Carolina, whose flourishing seminary at Orangeburg was destroyed, and his property swept away, in Sherman's march, but who bore the loss with great sweetness of spirit, and gave himself afterwards to the most self-sacrificing labors for the poor and ignorant classes of the South; John C. Hart, an unassuming, genuine man, whose labors in northern Ohio have called forth much commendation for sound instruction and pastoral fidelity; Seagrove W. Magill, a native of Georgia, but for many years a pastor in Waterbury, Connecticut (as also at two different periods in Cornwall, Vermont), a man of noble presence and great warmth and largeness of heart; Dr. Dwight M. Seward, who still survives with almost undiminished strength, after a laborious life as a pastor; Alexander J. Sessions (recently called to his rest), a man with a high ideal and great tenderness of affection, who bore the disappointments and sorrows of his later years with true Christian resignation; Milo N. Miles, a missionary and pastor at the West; William B. Lewis, and many others, whom I have no room to speak of, who have been faithful ministers of Christ. Of the more than thirty who have been ordained in his service, I have not heard of one who has dishonored it.

In other professions and callings there have been not a few of the class who have risen to distinction, or who gave early promise of eminence; as Trusten Polk, Governor of Missouri, and United States Senator, a truly religious man and zealous member of the Methodist church; John Milton Clapp, a native of Ohio, but for many years editor of the *Charleston Mercury*, the great organ of the States-Rights party of the South, an accomplished scholar, a great wit, and a most brilliant writer (one of Mr. Porter's most intimate friends); David Francis Bacon, brother of Dr. Leonard Bacon, one of the free lances in literature, who established and carried on *pro Marte* a monthly called *The Knights of the Round Table* in our Senior year, and who was the first to introduce, so far as I know, or at least to make prominent the form of newspaper correspondence now so popular, in a series of powerful letters from Washington to the *New York American*, then edited by Charles King, afterwards president of Columbia College; James H. Adams of South Carolina, prominent in the politics of his native state, of which he was at one time governor, and which he represented as commissioner at Washington just before the outbreak of the Civil War; Albert Rhett (Smith) of the same state, who, though he did not graduate with us because of a quarrel with a fellow student just at the end of his collegiate course, was in some respects the foremost man of the class, an excellent classical scholar, and a brilliant debater, who entered with all the Southern impetuosity and fire into the exciting discussions of the day, and but for his premature

death, would have stood easily in the front rank of the statesmen of the South; Newton D. Strong, brother of Judge William Strong of the United States Supreme Court, whose brilliant career as a lawyer was sadly interrupted; General Alpheus S. Williams, the one military hero of the class, having fought in two wars, our minister to San Salvador and a representative of his adopted state, Michigan, in our national Congress; Luzerne Ray, for many years one of the teachers in the Deaf and Dumb Asylum at Hartford, Connecticut, and the only man amongst us who was poetically gifted; Ninian E. Gray of Kentucky, of high reputation in his own state for his sound judgment and spotless integrity as a lawyer; William Hemphill Jones, Secretary of State for Delaware, and for many years holding a responsible post in the Controller's office at Washington; Dr. William H. Stokes, an eminent physician in Baltimore, where he had charge of a hospital for the insane; and others equally worthy of mention, but over whose names I must not linger.

But there is one whom I must not pass by, for he is an exception to the general fact that natural science has not been popular with the class; the Rev. L. L. Langstroth, one of the most keen and successful observers of the habits of bees, about which he has written a work of standard authority, as he has also constructed a hive with an admirable shell. A man of true genius, but hindered in his career as a pastor and preacher by ill health, he has found a solace in these pursuits by which he has also rendered a great service to the world. I

would also speak of Dr. Ephraim Saunders, a Presbyterian minister, who gave himself with great—I may say enormous—enthusiasm to the work of education in West Philadelphia; and of Rollin Sanford, a very dear friend of Mr. Porter's, at first a lawyer, and afterwards a merchant in New York, a man of great nobility of character, who in spite of the cares of business kept up his college attachments to the end; and of James H. Sanford, long on the editorial staff of the *Journal of Commerce*, one of the few survivors of the class, and now enjoying a vigorous old age in intellectual diversions in the bosom of his family.

Following Mr. Porter's collegiate course came two years of teaching in the New Haven Grammar School, and then for two years a tutorship in the college combined with study in the Divinity School. Of this early teaching we have no special records, but we know that then, as always afterward, he made life-long friends of some of his pupils. He writes to his brother soon after the beginning of his tutorship: "Three hours a day in recitation, with all the incidentals, teaches one the importance of saving and fixing his mind during the merest fragments of time. This I have not learned to do yet very perfectly, though with the necessity I make my will and practice to fall in to some extent. The situation thus far has proved a very pleasant and profitable one to me, with fewer difficulties and embar-

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rassments than I had anticipated. The only way to succeed seems to be to keep right on without asking yourself or others as to the results. This is a kind of action which you know is not altogether natural to me, so that a little practice will be an advantage."

In the Divinity School, the conspicuous feature was the teaching of Dr. N. W. Taylor, who a few years before had exchanged the pastorate of the Center Church for the chair of Systematic Theology. He was an impressive and inspiring teacher, and a leader in the theological controversies of his day. "A magnificent man, every inch of him!" — so one of his early pupils describes him now, — "a man of noble presence, with the keenest and tenderest eye I ever saw. He was not exact in his history, but in logic he was great. When his lecture was over, he would draw out his tobacco-box, refresh himself from the contents, and say, 'Now, young gentlemen, I'll hear *you*,' — and the give-and-take which followed, between him and his students, was the best hour of the day."

The Unitarian controversy, which was then at its height in Massachusetts, hardly extended to Connecticut. Lyman Beecher had been called from his Litchfield pulpit to Boston, to withstand the assault against the central position of Orthodoxy, and turn the defense into a valiant counter-attack. New Haven was the center of a different contest, in which an essential modification of the traditional creed was debated. The question concerned the relations of the human race to their progenitor, Adam, and the main position to which Dr. Taylor,

Dr. Fitch, and their allies advanced was that while man is a *sufferer* in consequence of Adam's sin, he does not share the *guilt* of it. This was an important change of conception, and was stoutly opposed by theological conservatives, headed by Dr. Tyler. The battle between "Taylorites" and "Tylerites" extended to the Presbyterian Church under the names of "New School" and "Old School," until, in complication with the slavery issue, it split that church in twain. In the more elastic fabric of Congregationalism, the new views soon passed from toleration to ascendancy.

The substantial element in the controversy was as stated above. Every human being was still sure to sin, and to incur a just penalty of eternal damnation, unless God should, in gratuitous mercy, deliver him — but he was no longer liable for a sin committed ages before his birth. But the discussion valiantly attacked the old problem of the reconciliation of divine sovereignty and human responsibility — and ran into subtleties, distinctions, definitions, which to-day are as antiquated as the logic-chopping of the Greek sophists. It was almost the last effort of the scholastic theology of New England, and the popular interest ebbed utterly and finally while the disputants were still talking. Outside of certain ecclesiastical coteries, human wit can no longer fathom those discussions, nor human patience follow them.

In the seminary young Porter showed himself a solid and excellent student. Among his earliest published writings, it is said, were some articles in defense of Dr. Taylor's views. But he sometimes questioned or di-

verged from them, as is shown by a letter from his father, in which Dr. Taylor is defended against some criticisms of the young man. Evidently, too, the son had felt one of the moods which come perhaps to all earnest young students for the ministry — a dissatisfaction with the scholastic methods so remote from the spirit and ways of the actual pastorate,— for the father warmly vindicates the seminary plan of instruction against that which had until recently prevailed in New England, in which the student entered the family of a working minister and learned the practice together with the theory. The new method, so the father tells the son, opens far wider ranges of knowledge and more scientific approach to truth.

A letter at this time to his brother Samuel (December 2, 1833) shows Noah already deeply engaged in the studies which were to be the ground of his ultimate life-work. Theology, even in its ardent and polemical forms, could not detain his mind from quests into the more fundamental problems—the nature of the mind and especially of its moral laws. “I have just finished Dr. A. Smith in my progress in *Morals*, having taken all in my way whom Mackintosh enumerates except Cudworth. I have been a good deal disappointed, I must own, to find so little accuracy and definite and distinct statement, and yet there are many advantages in following through the first springing of a science to its present advancement. For you have, as it were, to some extent in the different authors, beginning at the lowest, the various forms and degrees of indistinctness with which any idea

presents itself to your own mind. I am hardly a whit nearer an opinion myself with all the materials before me, but still I have the satisfaction to know that all these are in a more available form, and much future inquiry and reference will be rendered needless." He has just got hold of an English book on the *Principles of the Kantian Philosophy*, which he sends to his brother to read and then pass on to Horace Bushnell. ("Mr. Bushnell did nobly when he was here a Sabbath or two since. He bids fair, as it seems to me, to be one of the first preachers in the state, though he probably might be more intelligible with advantage to himself and his hearers.") As to Kant's ideas: "If the Practical Reason is a true account of moral distinctions, it is a great and wonderful discovery. I have given up all idea of finding anything drawn out in an accurate form in Plato, though I am richly rewarded for what little I read. This age appears to be of all others that of method and analysis,—I must give it that credit,—and unless the Platonisers etc. can make out their case on that ground they must give it up—which I am far from thinking they cannot do." This passage gives the key-note of his intellectual life-work,—the pursuit of philosophic truth in the scientific spirit; patient, studious, open-minded, and accepting no theory however brilliant except on clear and definite evidence.

Meantime he was often a visitor in the family of Dr. Taylor. The house on the southwest corner of Temple and Wall streets was the scene of a very bright intellectual and social life. Thither used to come Dr. Tay-

lor's ministerial brethren-in-arms, and hold high counsel and debate. Foremost among them and his chief ally was Lyman Beecher, rough, genial, full of power. Arm-in-arm they would walk the rooms for hours, often deep into the night, in the glow of discussions which were to work out deeper interpretations of the divine mysteries, and fashion more effective weapons for the salvation of the world. Another guest was Albert Barnes, leader of the Presbyterian liberals. Another was Dr. Samuel H. Cox, who to his distinction in the pulpit added elegance of manners, fertility and aptness in quotation, especially of poetry, and social powers that made him a favorite of the ladies.

The children of the house were a son and four daughters, of whom three became Mrs. Buckingham, Mrs. Robeson, and Mrs. Hatch. The oldest daughter, Mary, inherited something of her father's mental power, together with energy of character and a vivacious, buoyant spirit. She threw herself eagerly into study, learned Greek, and with her friend Martha Day, — the daughter of President Day, and the most intellectual woman of the circle — explored Hebrew under the guidance of Professor Gibbs. At the age of twelve, when her father in taking his professorship joined the College Church, she chose to stay in the Center Church as her old home. Her fine voice was always heard in its choir, and she took active part in its various good works. She was full of "antic spirits" and youthful pranks, while grave men found their minds quickened by "the fresh bubbling spring of her thoughts." In the fine old university

town there was always society of the best, and the house where "the Taylor girls" were as great an attraction as their brilliant father, was visited by a host of guests, many of them marked by social elegance as well as intellectual culture. To the sisters came suitors in plenty, and Mary had her full share. Her preference was somehow won by a theological student, a young man of slight figure and plain features, shy in his bearing and somewhat rustic in manners. But the woman's eye and ear divined beneath this exterior the fine intelligence, the large affection, the latent power and promise. The wise friends of both saw that their natures were well mated. His sister, Miss Sarah Porter, had been an intimate friend of Mary Taylor, and gladly recognized that their characters supplemented each other. She told her brother, "You are habitually rather sad—she is cheerful and light-hearted. You are perhaps too little inclined to be an active character—she will make you one."

They were married on the 13th of April, 1836. He was to go directly from the Seminary to the pastorate of the church in New Milford, Connecticut. The wedding was in the morning, and around the bride were grouped her three sisters, each with her future husband. Then, in the pleasant, simple fashion of the old days, the young couple rode off together in a buggy, for a leisurely journey to their new home.

A few words may here be given to that marriage relation which was so vital a part of the personal history of half a century. The sister's prophecy was more than

made good. The wife was the husband's constant companion, support, and counsellor. Her buoyant spirit was one of the influences — together with his own fidelity, open-heartedness, and constant growth of heart and mind — through which his early tendency to sadness (which only the sister's keen eye seems to have noted) gradually gave place to a deep and diffusive good cheer. Her courage fortified his. In literary work she was his helpful critic, and her more fastidious and exact taste helped to counteract a certain carelessness of style. While she heartily merged herself in his affairs, she did not fail of pursuits and interests peculiar to herself, nor did he fall into that unconscious selfish monopoly of her personality to which husbands are prone. To his future story, as it is here to be outlined, there should be supplied a background of constant sympathy, support, and impulse, from the partner of his life.

The pastorate of the New Milford church — from April 27, 1836, to December 31, 1843, — is the only period of Dr. Porter's life for which we can draw the history from his own pen. On the fiftieth anniversary of his installation, in the last year of his college presidency, he preached a commemorative sermon in his old church. It is a graphic illustrative chapter of the religious history of New England, and largely discloses the speaker's own traits in the formative period of his early manhood.

"Fifty years ago the town of New Milford was almost wholly devoted to agriculture. A few inconsiderable mills and small manufactories were scattered here and there along its streams, but scarcely any of them had

any permanent life. The village was an inland market town, with considerable trade which was shared by five or six parties, who furnished merchandise of every kind largely in exchange for produce to the active and enterprising farmers who were scattered along these valleys and spread over these hillsides. Grain and pork, dairy products and beef, were the principal staples, which were produced in large quantities. Tobacco as yet was scarcely raised. The milk trade with New York was impossible. Modern farm machinery was unknown. The produce and supplies were transported in wagons, regular lines of which went to and fro and rendered many services to individuals and families through their trusty drivers. The farmers were unusually enterprising and prosperous, as they easily might be, considering the excellence of the soil, the energy of the community and their active communication with distant markets. The raising and selling of stock was no inconsiderable element in their business, and this usually sharpens the wits and breeds courage and self-reliance.

“The village itself was in some respects in a stagnant and neglected condition. The principal street, which was nearly all that it could show, was disfigured by an irregular gully, which was at the mercy of every winter torrent and summer shower. Along either side of it there were many stately maples and here and there an elm, but the broad open space between the two roadways was rough and treeless, and now and then a free pasture for geese and swine. The old cemetery was worse than a common field, for it was crowded with neg-

lected mounds, and overgrown with tangled briars, in which there was nothing inviting except the hallowed memories of the dead. At the head of the street stood the old dilapidated Town House, unpainted of course, the lower rooms of which were appropriated to the village school, while the upper story gave free play to the winds and scanty hospitality to such wandering preachers and lecturers as the churches would not welcome. Notwithstanding the easy-going and indifferent aspect of some of these externals, the village could show some stately specimens of the best New England architecture, which were the abode of generous hospitality and scenes of gay and friendly hilarity. The natural surroundings of the village proclaimed their own beauty and need no description or praise from me. The swelling hills to the east to which you are lifted so suddenly and from the summits of which you gain so splendid a view to the west, with its dim outline of the distant Catskills, the enchanting view from the Town Hill, so varied and picturesque, the inviting drives along the multitudinous valleys, spoke their own praises fifty years ago as loudly as they do at present.

“As a field for ministerial labor the parish had certain peculiarities of its own. In territorial extent it was the largest in the state. Not only was the territory of the parish inconveniently large, but it was broken up into separate neighborhoods, which were more or less isolated from one another. The conformation of the country made this necessary, broken up as it was by high ridges, often rising into rough mountain-like ridges,

and indented by sharply cut valleys, steep and deep. Hence a singular variety of fertile plains, protected slopes, sheltered nooks, the chosen sites of inviting neighborhoods, each in a sense shut up to itself and building up its own separate social life, and more or less loosely or closely connected with the larger community. I was accustomed to compute that fully a hundred families of the parish resided more than three miles from the church, and as many must climb some three hundred or four hundred feet to reach their homes.

“When this scattered condition of the parish came home to me as an actual fact in my first rounds of visitation, I was almost overwhelmed with dismay. It would be impossible, as it seemed, for me even to gain any personal knowledge of the people, and it would be impossible for me to find or awaken any common church life. Moreover, when I learned that the pastor might be expected to spend a day or a night with a single family in a distant neighborhood, it seemed that there would not be days enough in the year for even a part of his social duties. These anticipated difficulties were never all overcome. It cost a great deal of time to make the necessary rounds of pastoral duty. To visit the whole people even briefly and infrequently, to attend upon the sick, to comfort the afflicted, to officiate at weddings, to lead the sad and slow procession of death for miles and miles in driving wet and sultry heat and pinching cold involved no little fatigue and some exposure, and cost much time. But some of these experiences brought ample compensations. Many of the

drives along the valleys and over the hills found their exciting reward. I remember more than one winter night when coming over Second Hill I discerned by moonlight the Catskills, or emerged into Maryland from the long, dark, houseless valley, of nearly four miles to the north, experiencing thrills of excitement which I shall never forget. So too, when after many a late and lonely drive, I arrived safely home with wife and dog to welcome me, I have felt the force of the lines:—

“ ‘I'll go and come, nor fear to die,
Till from on high Thou call me home.’

“. . . I have spoken of the forebodings which I felt from the size of the parish and its broken surface and its separate neighborhoods. Some of these disappeared altogether before actual trial. I discovered that an intense social and Christian life and a vigorous church feeling were altogether consistent with these apparent disadvantages, nay, might even be furthered by some of them. I learned to understand and believe in the saying that is current in the Lake country of England, ‘where houses are far, neighbors are near’; that there may be more Christian sympathy and kindness between households that dwell miles apart, and a closer and warmer neighborly feeling, than between some whose very proximity becomes the occasion of jealousy and strife. I found that one of the most saintly of our members lived on the top of Candlewood Mountain, helpless from paralysis, and yet seeming to know more and care more than any besides for the spiritual welfare of scores who were

scattered over the entire parish and lived miles and miles away from her home over the hill. I found that in seasons of religious interest, not a few of our chosen brethren would of a cold winter night go and return from Gaylord's Bridge to Second Hill. Above all, I found that the Divine Spirit would at such a time seem to brood over the entire country, and search out single souls in the loneliest pastures or the most secluded valleys, and bring them into the fellowship of the gospel by softening them to penitence and prayer. I found, moreover, that the most of the members of the church who resided at a distance relied on the season for social prayer during the interval between the Sunday services as an important element in their common religious life. Sunday was an especially important day to the entire community, not merely because it brought together so many families for common worship, but because it brought them from points so distant to see each other's faces, to exchange greetings as they gathered in knots or visited from pew to pew during the short interval between the services. The village itself, if the day was fine, was full of animation, a gathering place of the clans, representing the strength and hope of the town. Long lines of vehicles with strong and impatient horses lined the street near each of the two houses of worship. It was before the days of horse-sheds, the erection of which was urged by the youthful pastor as a prime necessity for the humane as well as the religious observance of the Lord's day, but which was not accomplished till the need of them became imperative.

“Within this house, if the day was bright, was exhibited a scene that could not be matched in many New England country towns. The sittings were not bought and sold as now, but assigned with the utmost circumspection and care, especially as the expenses of the parish were defrayed after the old-fashioned way by a tax upon the property as represented in the grand list. Few congregations were more imposing and dignified whether in city or country, made up as this was of not a few dignified gentlemen and stately dames of the old school. Strong men of the soil were here; sinewy, horse-taming young men and healthy matrons and blooming maidens; and not a few well-dressed and decent representatives of one race that had once been sole owners of the soil and of another race that had been enslaved upon it. I seem to see that grand congregation here as they so often presented themselves to my eyes, and as they always reappear when I enter this house. On my right that foremost man of the town, singular for dignity, knowledge and childlike sweetness, Hon. David S. Boardman, and with him now and then, when his infirmities would allow, his brother Homer, of rare dignity and loveliness combined; and near them both Mr. Ithamar Canfield, the wealthy magnate of the village; and near him three sisters, faithful to the house of God and benefactors of the poor, of whom one kept fresh the heart of a girl for more than a century of years. From these I readily pass in my thoughts to the Gaylords, all self-reliant, courteous and strong, and from them to the brothers Hine, abundant in enterprise and intelligence.

Near them sat Deacon Gerardus Roberts, my noble friend, eloquent in spirit, fervent in prayer, abundant in good works, whose son I baptized with an honored name, William Jay, given of chivalrous feeling by his father, and which he honored by a scholar's life and a scholar's self-sacrifice. Directly in front of me was Deacon Merwin, that sturdy, quiet gentleman, who never missed a Sunday, from the top of Candlewood Mountain, and near him his neighbor whom the spirit of God strangely brought to our fellowship and to an office in the church. I cannot omit Deacon Stillwell, who was a singular compound of simplicity and shrewdness, whose pathetic end brings tears to our eyes. He reminds us of our neighbor, Deacon Green, whose sturdy faith and goodness we lost too soon. Least of all should we forget Deacon Whittlesey, who bore this church ever upon his heart, nor Mr. Eli Mygatt, nor Mr. Abel Hine, each a strong man in his way, true and trustworthy pillars of the church. I cannot forget my stanch and loving friend, Mr. Henry Merwin, nor his neighbors in the beautiful valley in which they lived. Many, very many more than these whom I have named, seem now to fill their seats, as they filled them in other times, during the nearly seven years of my ministry in this house. The attendance at public worship was as regular as could be expected, considering the distances which many must travel and the situation of many of the families. If the weather was even moderately favorable, even in the height of summer or winter, at the appointed hour you would see scores of vehicles file slowly from all directions, their occupants

wearing grave yet cheerful looks and ready to exchange their hearty greetings with their fellow worshipers and briefly to whisper any exciting intelligence of friend or family or neighborhood, near or very far away. Within the house there was intelligent attention and courteous discourse and Christian sympathy. If the coming together was somewhat constrained and formal, the parting was more free and exciting. It was almost like the movement of a regiment, with the excitement of the horses that had been meditating on what their stables had in store for them, and the freshened exhilaration of the young men and maidens whom they carried home to manifold domestic labors and cares. The vehicles were quickly loaded, hearty good-byes were exchanged, here and there an excited colt plunged and reared, and sooner than one would think it possible the street was left in its Sabbath stillness.

“The short interval between the services was given to brief interchanges of social courtesy, to the Sunday-school, which was well sustained, and to the meeting of prayer, which brought scores of families together in Christian sympathy and social worship. It was this gathering, supplemented by that on the week-day, which united the members of the church together in social acquaintance and sympathy, furnishing quick indications to the pastor and to the whole body of the tone of Christian feeling. Thus it became the medium through which the Divine Spirit moved from heart to heart, even over this widespread territory.

“These seasons of quickened religious feeling were

not infrequent. Very early in his ministry, the pastor was gratified to learn that a company of young girls in the village were specially thoughtful in respect to the greatest of all interests, all of whom were subsequently admitted to the fellowship of the church. One of these died five or six years afterward in love and peace. Conspicuous among them was one who will long be remembered as a spiritual leader and as a blessing and power in this village and this church. The earnestness and simplicity of the beginning of her religious life, the growth and strength of her religious convictions, the attraction of her wit and wisdom combined, the sweetness and strength of her mature womanhood, the long trial by which she was dismissed from her earthly life and disciplined for another, all combine to hold her in the memory of some who hear me.

“In the year 1838, the second year of my ministry, a very general interest in religious things affected the entire population of the town and the vicinity, and resulted in large accessions to the membership of these and the other churches. It began in the Methodist society on the Plains, but rapidly extended through the town and brought into our communion very many of the young and the old, and very many from the village, some of whom had for years been not far from the Kingdom of God. It was in this movement that the social capacities of the church were developed and tested, and that the zeal and gifts of the more active members were conspicuous. Meetings were held by the pastor almost every day in some part of the parish, and

the account for one eight days, including two Sundays, gave thirteen services and nearly one hundred miles traveled in extreme cold. But it was an easy task to do this when every one was eager to be present and ready to listen. Subsequently there were other occasional special awakenings, but none that would compare with this. The intense interest that was felt by very many of the members of the church, their readiness to labor and speak, demonstrated and strengthened the vitality and power of their religious convictions. It was a living and wholesome example of the greatness of the responsibilities which rest upon the lay members of every church, a truth which is now generally recognized and enforced. A large proportion of this strength and capacity was found in a single neighborhood, at Gaylord's Bridge, and partly for the reason that it was so far from the center and in a measure cut off from a constant enjoyment of the regular services of the church, and thereby its people were thrown upon their own resources, being compelled to rely upon themselves, they became a body of earnest and active workers in the Kingdom of God. What would seem to be a disaster and a disadvantage to the neighborhood and to the church, became an eminent blessing to both.

"This is a brief sketch of the outward spiritual manifestations of your servant's life during the six and one half years in which he was your pastor. I would fain hope that inwardly not a few who heard me became stronger in their conceptions of Christian truth, the Christian temper and the Christian life, that they be-

came better men and women in the true sense of these terms, and consequently better in their families, their neighborhoods, better in life and in death and in the invisible kingdom of God. Whether I always judged wisely or not, I am not prepared to say, but that I endeavored to adapt my instructions to your condition and needs as I understood them, I can confidently affirm. I did not preach elaborate sermons for my own intellectual improvement or literary enjoyment, nor doctrinal sermons for my philosophical discipline or speculative ingenuity or controversial skill, but I sought to preach practical sermons, that my hearers might more wisely believe the facts and truths of the gospel, and practice them more willingly and intelligently in their lives. In these respects my hearers manifested their approval by their friendly support and co-operation. Their contributions to every Christian enterprise at home and abroad were increased from year to year and were more and more willing and enlightened. Most of the movements for moral reformation were cordially accepted and zealously furthered. The temperance cause in all its separate phases was earnestly preached and with a good degree of success. It was urged more or less distinctly from the pulpit and recognized as germane altogether to the minister's appropriate work. The anti-slavery movement, in the technical doctrines by which it was first distinguished, was met by a divided sentiment, but was happily prevented from dividing the church, by being recognized as one of the questions in respect to which good men might hold opposite opinions, and yet not only

might but should tolerate one another. Whether this position was correct or not, it certainly saved the community from useless strife and bitter agitation. When the time came for united Christian action and heroic self-sacrifice, the Christian community was emphatically one.

“During the early years of my ministry and a few years previous, the Congregational churches and ministers of Connecticut were agitated and more or less divided by an earnest if not bitter theological controversy. In June, 1837, the year after I was installed, the annual meeting of the General Association of Connecticut was held in this house. It brought, as it were, upon the very altar of our worship, the glowing coals of a not always hallowed strife. A few weeks before, the Presbyterian Assembly of the United States had been violently rent asunder by the secession of a very large fragment, and the smouldering embers of excited sympathizers with both sides among the clergy of Connecticut were kindled into flame. To the most of my people it was a revelation and a surprise. I very well remember how a considerable knot of my most substantial church members gathered upon the steps of the church, after listening to addresses which called in question the orthodoxy of some whom they had revered as the most devoted servants of Christ, to ask me for some reasonable explanation of those divisions and heated assaults. For several years this controversy continued, till it was displaced by discussions of other topics and gave way to a better understanding of the truth and

duties of the gospel. This controversy never entered this church, or, so far as I am aware, was recognized in my preaching. While I did not hesitate to bear my part in it in theological papers and in public discussions, I studiously kept it out of the pulpit, not from timidity, but from principle; not because I did not hold definite theological opinions, but because I believed that toleration of theological differences was a supreme duty; and most of all because it seemed a sin against the gospel itself, to occupy the thoughts and interest the feelings of my hearers with questionings concerning the metaphysics of theology, when the living truths in which all Christians agree needed to be made more real and the duties to which they are indifferent needed to be enforced upon their lives. Hence, though I was eminently philosophical and theological in my habits and tastes, I carefully abstained from philosophy and theology as such in my preaching. This was fortunate for myself and perhaps for the people. For as I lived among them, I was more and more convinced that while they very distinctly held to the great truths of the Christian faith, they were indisposed to theological discussion and controversy, either in respect to church order, or church rites, or church creeds, it being assumed these were Christian. I found that the great majority of the church and congregation had long before my time come to what I regarded as very practical and Christian views in respect to Christian unity and Christian fellowship. I found that these views were deeply inwrought into their minds and were held with no little tenacity,

that consequently their attitude towards other Christian denominations was eminently kindly and charitable, — in short, that they held what in these days would be called very advanced ground in respect to the duty of Christian toleration and the sin and waste of sectarian assumption on the one hand, and sectarian antagonism on the other. This church being the original or mother church of the town, it was eminently fortunate and proper that it should invite all to its fellowship in the most charitable and tolerant spirit, and maintain the most generous attitude towards other communities than its own, co-operating with their members and ministers in all Christian works and forgetting for the time everything except their common fellowship in the gospel. The things in which they agreed being so much more numerous and important than those in which they differed, it was no more than Christian that the old First church, which might with no assumption regard herself as the original vine of which all others were the branches, should continue to extend to them sympathy and care after they had assumed a separate life."

Then follows a sketch of the church's history, which might almost serve for an epitome of the second century of the New England churches. Established along with the town in 1716, the church early found some of its younger and more earnest members attracted to Quakerism, and a Society of Friends was established. "At times," says Dr. Porter, "this Society was flourishing and proved a blessing to the Christian life of the town, even to these days. Not a few of you will confess to

have gained lessons of spirituality and peace from many a meek and placid face which has crossed your path, and which were learned in the little meeting-house on the Plains. Now and then during my ministry two or three elders would hold a meeting in the old Town House of a Sunday afternoon, and I well recollect hearing Deacon Roberts say, that he had rarely heard a more moving and effective plea for the inner Christian life than he heard from a Friend at one of these meetings. It happened during my ministry that the distinguished English philanthropist, Joseph John Gurney, came this way on a preaching and visiting tour among the scattered Friends. An appointment had been made for him at the Town House. So soon as I heard of it, I resolved to invite him into this church. It was thought a little strange by Deacon Whittlesey and other pillars of our church, but no one objected. Our princely guest went into the pulpit without hesitation, introduced and managed the season for silent prayer with perfect grace, gave to the crowded house a moving discourse, and left his blessing with us, as of the spirit of the living God. Doubtless in early years, in like fashion, the rise and growth of that little body of seekers after God and their constant presence has been always a blessing in this prosperous and wealthy and worldly community, silently testifying as it has done of the blessedness and the peace of the Christian life. It certainly has enlarged the charity of many narrow souls, and widened their conception of the unity and the comprehensiveness of the Kingdom of God."

Within a few years after the Quaker secession, continues Dr. Porter, came the establishment of an Episcopal Church, at first upon hostile terms with the earlier organization, but gradually winning recognition and contributing special elements to the religious life of the community. A third separation soon followed, of those whose zeal was kindled in the "Great Awakening" and who were impatient of the moderate and conservative ways of the mother church. These "Strict Congregationalists" developed a type of their own, marked by special fervor of devotion, and after sixty years were peaceably reabsorbed. A dark time came at the beginning of this century, when the pastor of the old church, — a brilliant and fascinating man — became a Jeffersonian in politics, "when to be a Jeffersonian in Connecticut was esteemed almost equivalent to being a blasphemer"; led the young people by engaging paths into social liberality and then into covert infidelity; and finally went into politics and the West, leaving the church almost devoid of spiritual life, and nearly swept away by the general torrent of worldliness and sin. Then, under the faithful yet gentle guidance of another pastor, came twenty years of gradual recuperation. "As a result of this somewhat peculiar history, as I have already intimated, this church has been less sectarian in spirit, less severe in its technical statements and conceptions of doctrine, than many churches which have had a different history. Possibly, it may be said that hitherto it had been less earnest in its religious life, less spiritual, less abundant in Christian work. It would

be difficult to convince me that this was true, as I remember it when I met scores and hundreds of praying and active souls who seemed to seek first the kingdom of God, and were loving and generous in their tempers and kept themselves unspotted from the world."

One of his old parishioners, Hon. A. B. Mygatt, writes very warmly of Dr. Porter's services, and the love in which he was always held by his people. "The church and congregation were large — as large and flourishing as they have ever been at any time in their history. He was young, active, and sympathetic — familiar, agreeable and accessible to all in the community — and greatly interested for the improvement of his people, especially for the young. As a result, he secured the love and respect of all classes. Widely scattered though his congregation were, he found time to visit all his people, and to become familiar with them. He was fond of a good horse, and withal a good horseman. In his pastoral rides, he must have known the geography of New Milford perfectly, and his personal acquaintance was larger than that of any one else. During his pastorate the church and society greatly prospered. Never in an equal period of time have there been so large and important additions to them."

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of Dr. Porter — or, rather, the best measure of the breadth of his nature — was that he was equally distinguished in abstract thought and in social relations. After the intellectual training of college and seminary, and the wakening of a keen hunger for further knowledge, he

found himself at New Milford summoned to practical and active duty sufficient to task every faculty. He obeyed the call, and the words which tell of his unrelenting social activities and the exclusion of speculative thought from his sermons give not a hint of the sacrifice of taste and desire which must sometimes have been keenly felt.

In one respect, the influence of this pastoral experience on his later life should be noted. He was always and above all the staunch defender of Christianity as he understood it — Christianity in a very broad and comprehensive sense, but always as based on the divine Christ and a supernatural revelation, and expressed through the church. Now, the Christianity which in his early years he saw embodied in institutions and in lives could hardly be better exemplified than in the picture he has given of the New Milford church. The ministry of his father in Farmington was indeed of a similar type. But his own first pastorate, in the fourth decade of this century, fell in a time which saw the consummate flowering of the old New England civilization. The roughness and harshness of the early centuries had largely passed away. The new sense of nationality, the felt possibilities of the coming America, the opening opportunities of a continent, had quickened the whole life of the people. Dissolution of the old religious order had hardly begun. The crude assaults of Thomas Paine had failed to shake the deep foundations of Christianity in the hearts of a serious people. The brilliant philosophies of the eighteenth century, the gospel of

science and of democracy, had offered no satisfactory substitute for the religion which promised to man a communion with God, a salvation from sin, and an eternal blessedness. The church had wakened along with the nation; foreign missions, temperance, the evangelization of the West, had given work to its hands and warmth to its heart. The only conspicuous heresies were the intensely ethical and intellectual Unitarianism, which could hardly make itself felt beyond the shores of Massachusetts Bay, and the more democratic Universalist secession. Whatever there was of deep inward disintegration of the old creed among the mass of the people, as yet found little voice or manifestation. The severance of the Connecticut churches from state support had roused them to a new energy. And meantime the old rural life of New England was fairest just before it began to wither. The fatal drain of the best population to the West and to the cities had scarcely begun to show its ravages. The pictures of such towns as Litchfield in Lyman Beecher's biography, and Northampton in Mrs. Lesley's *Memories of my Mother*, and New Milford in Dr. Porter's sermon, show a rich, various, and fine-flavored rural life, such as is perhaps unmatched in the world's history, and such as can scarcely now be found in New England. And in these communities the church was the natural center,—the meeting-ground for social intercourse, the chief stimulant to thought, and for many a soul the source of moral energy and spiritual joy.

These were the surroundings, these the influences, and

this the work, in which the essential faith and creed which had come to Noah Porter by inheritance, and been assimilated in his early years, were now wrought and welded into his constitution, and irrevocably fixed as the ruling principles of his character and philosophy.

The pressure of pastoral duties, and the physical demands of his immense parish, developed his manly energies to the full, but they probably overtaxed his strength, and at last were more than he could meet save at too great a cost. So he accepted a call to the Second Congregational Church, in Springfield, Massachusetts.

Of this church he was the first pastor. The sleepy old river town was quickening into new life, upon the advent of the railroad and telegraph, and with the growth of population the First Church had so increased in size that there came about a friendly division and the organization of a new society, under the lead of such men as R. A. Chapman — afterward chief-justice of the state — Henry and James Brewer, and George and Charles Merriam. Mr. Porter was installed on the 12th of January, 1843, and remained for three and a half years. His wisdom and tact were of especial service in guiding the relations of the young church with the mother organization, and impressing a temper of harmony and catholicity which was never lost. Friendships were made between him and his parishioners, some of which were of great and life-long influence upon them and him. The social conditions, which were essentially those of village life, were less tasking than at New Milford, and while he fully discharged all the duties of his office, this period

was probably one of less exacting work than what preceded and followed. It may have allowed some quiet accumulation of strength, required after the strenuous toil that was past, and in preparation for the many crowded years that were to follow. It also gave opportunity, which must have been most welcome, for the studies that had been almost crowded out of his first pastorate. He took up French and German in earnest, under the teaching of a Polish refugee whom he had befriended when in great need. He sent many commissions to his brother in New York for the purchase and exchange of books on theology and philosophy, especially the latter—perhaps with some foresight of the new work that was soon to open to him.

It was here that his first great sorrow befell—the death of his only son, a child of four years. “It was the first time I ever saw my father shed tears,” said one of his daughters, “and I hardly ever saw that again until my mother died.”

Mr. Porter was thirty-two years old when in 1846 he accepted an appointment as Clark Professor of Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics in Yale College, and entered upon what proved to be the main business of his life. He was the first occupant of the chair, and it was established with the purpose that he should fill it. He made his home at first in a house on Whitney Avenue, just north of Trumbull, and in a year or two moved across to Hillhouse Avenue, where the little family—husband,

wife, and three daughters — made its permanent nest. It was an ideal scholar's home — comfortable, modest, quiet; upon a broad avenue lined with noble elms; half a mile from the college buildings, whence the bell sent its early summons to the daily routine; surrounded by a garden, in which he delighted to work among his fruit trees and vegetables and flowers.

No consecutive history of his professorship will be here attempted. Later, the presidency will be treated with some definiteness of outline by a competent hand. But I shall attempt only to characterize in general terms and with brief illustration his work as a professor. Let it be remembered that this long period covered great changes in every field. When Mr. Porter left Springfield for New Haven, the railroad by which he traveled was a novelty of only a year or two. Then and for long after the college was housed in the row of old brick barracks which is now near its demolition. By a custom of time immemorial, students and faculty were called to prayers at a very early hour, which in winter came before daylight, and a recitation intervened before breakfast could be taken; while the day was religiously closed with prayers — an arrangement which lasted for a dozen years longer. The college for a time drew many members from the South; roughness and turbulence sometimes prevailed, and occasionally there was open rebellion against some obnoxious ordinance — rebellions to which the firm hand of President Woolsey soon put a final stop.

The early situation is well illustrated by a writer in

the *Hartford Courant*, at the time of Dr. Porter's death "It was a significant fact that he and President Woolsey entered upon their positions almost together, and the intimate friendship which bound them together had important results upon the college. It seems strange to be reminded that Dr. Porter was the first professor of philosophy and ethics at Yale, and that there was no provision for instruction in history and political science until President Woolsey took upon himself those subjects. The college had been hitherto really nothing but an academy, with three or four permanent teachers and several tutors. Fortunately those permanent teachers were men of power, who had a high sense of the mission and work of Yale, and who each in his own way impressed his work upon the minds and characters of the students. It is sufficient proof of this statement to mention the names of [Presidents] Dwight and Day, and [Professors] Kingsley, Olmsted, Silliman, and Goodrich.

"But there had been little definiteness in the curriculum, and little vigor in the intellectual discipline, until the administration of Woolsey. Senior year in particular was a time of great leisure, devoted in part to preparation for the Commencement, in part to the anticipation by private reading of professional study, in part to the preparation for the weekly meetings of the great public debating societies — Linonia and Brothers in Unity. A tremendous innovation of President Woolsey's administration was the introduction of an afternoon recitation (previously the Seniors had had no college work after dinner,) and Professor Porter had the afternoon lesson

which was in philosophy, while President Woolsey gave his morning lesson in history. Thus the moulding of the Senior classes was mainly the work of these two men, and so it continued to be until President Woolsey retired."

These paragraphs suggest a rich chapter yet to be written in the history of Yale. I shall not undertake that chapter, and even in characterizing Professor Porter's own work, so great and many-sided, I feel a diffidence that impels me to venture hardly more than a statement of personal impressions. I was a student in the college, 1860-4, and tutor 1866-8. Scarcely any feature of the college life was more significant than what the *Courant* writer has well described as the moulding of the Senior classes by Woolsey and Porter. The two men supplemented each other with singular felicity. It might be said that Woolsey represented Authority, while Porter was an embodiment of Friendliness. Woolsey inspired a respect which was almost awe. He seldom had occasion to assert his authority, — his mere presence was a curb on the most audacious. That frail and slender form, — the noble features cast as in some antique mould, and worn by studious toil and austere conscience, — the piercing black eye, — the voice, somewhat thin yet firm, — all made a great impression on the young imagination. When, as rarely happened, that voice spoke a word of personal reproof, or the eye gave a lightning flash, the culprit wished the earth would open and swallow him. His sway was mild, but there was a sense of volcanic fire not far below the surface.

His influence was far beyond that of strict discipline. All felt an austere loftiness of character. There was in him a rare simplicity and modesty — in his religious expressions one recognized a deep humility — yet in some way his personality conveyed a peculiar weight and impressiveness. If we had analyzed the effect he produced on us, I think we should have attributed it partly to the quality of scrupulous sincerity in his teaching. One of our class expressed the common feeling: "When Prex says, 'I would not speak too confidently, but after a good deal of research my impression is that the historical facts of the case were 'so-and-so' — you may be surer of those facts than if most men had sworn to them.'" Whatever the analysis of his character, its beneficent effect was inestimable. We came into Senior year a good deal tinctured with that curious cynicism to which college students are liable — a result perhaps of a stimulation of the intellect in advance of the affections and the conduct of life. We needed hardly any lesson so much as reverence, and nothing gave us that lesson more effectually than the feeling which Theodore Woolsey inspired. His religious teachings from the pulpit were listened to with respect, and doubtless were serviceable, but his type of religion was too grave, too deeply penetrated with the old Puritan sense of sin, to come close home to the feelings of us youngsters. His character lent authority to his creed, but it would have amazed the humble man to know how much his character in itself stamped our lives in their plastic state.

But he always seemed essentially a recluse. He had

some intimate friendships, as with Professor Porter — the two men were like brothers, in life as well as in work — but to students he was remote and inaccessible. We should no more have thought of seeking a familiar conversation with him than with West Rock, while as for voluntarily confessing a peccadillo, or seeking help in a scrape — it was inconceivable.

But Professor Porter was every student's friend. That rigid barrier which divides — or divided — students from teachers seemed hardly to exist for him and his pupils. I quote Dr. Munger's testimony: "He introduced what may be termed the modern spirit into the relations of the faculty to the students. It was through and in him that the old-time stiffness and dignity and distance were broken down, and the students were admitted into human and friendly relations to their instructors. There was kindness and fidelity enough under the old regime, but no close contact, no interchange or mutuality, and no man-to-man friendliness. Dr. Porter's good sense and modern spirit broke through all this, and led him to put himself in friendly relations to the students, with all the traditional dignity and stiffness and distance left out, or exchanged for a hearty and natural greeting, a ready smile, and a certain indefinable air of comradeship. It made him the most popular instructor of his day, and one of the most useful. If the lessons in the Human Intellect were not learned as well as they might have been, those in the human heart were not missed, and as between the two the latter must have the precedence."

In that "indefinable air of comradeship" lay the hid-

ing of his power. Many a Yale instructor, not wanting in "good sense and modern spirit," tried to make his pupils feel at ease and at home with him, and tried in vain. Some impalpable atmosphere kept them aloof. It was probably a result wrought by the traditional relations of a purely authoritative government.¹ At every point where the student met his teachers in their official capacity his acts were noted and registered. Every absence, every defect in conduct or study, brought a specific penalty. Every excellence received its award. From first to last it was government and education by *marks*. The sense of surveillance and exact responsibility which this system generated formed in the student's mind an attitude which could not be dispelled at will or upon friendly approach of an instructor in some unofficial moment. It is partly to break down this hard relation, so destructive of finer personal influence, that collegiate methods have in late years been modified. If Dr. Porter was little favorable to changes of method, it was largely because the old methods had never isolated or imprisoned *him*. His geniality was all-pervasive and irresistible. Its roots lay in the friendliest humanity, and a simplicity which was not only indifferent to grades of rank and station but almost unconscious of them. He met his students on a level because he felt on a level with them. It was the genius of comradeship.

¹ There were many instances of personal kindness from instructors to students, and some members of the Faculty were notable for their friendliness. Such a one was Professor Thomas A. Thacher, whose hospitable home gave welcome to many a student, and whom not a few remember as a father confessor at need and a genial and helpful guide.

A disposition like this, acting under a system which was essentially authoritative, could not fail of incongruous results in some respects. As Dr. Munger intimates, the lessons were not always as well learned as under severer pedagogues. But if mildness was not always effectual in the class-room, at all other points of contact—and they were many—Dr. Porter met his pupils only to win and help them. Good scholar or poor, earnest or frivolous, every one found kind listening and cordial response. A friend once met at his door a student going out from an interview which his own fault had occasioned,—and the Professor said with a twinkle in his eye, “I like to meet a bad fellow now and then!” He never sermonized, never seemed to be “trying to do you good.” His manner was like an elder brother’s. I remember in my Junior year falling in with him while walking out Prospect Street—it was then “Tutor’s Lane.” He invited me to join him, and for two hours we walked and talked—about books, the scenery, whatever topic came uppermost, almost as freely as I would have talked with one of my college chums. I recall nothing that was said, but I know that a quiet uplift was given by that conversation. It is a rare gift in a man to be able to talk with a boy—and a college Junior is two-thirds a boy—and that gift he had in perfection.

He had an entire simplicity of manner. Any approach to ceremony seemed to irk him. The last touch of old-time form which survived in college usage was that at the conclusion of prayers and of Sunday service the presi-

dent walked down the center aisle while the Seniors on both sides bowed low to him. If the president happened to be absent, the professors went in the order of seniority, and the first of them received the salute. In my day the senior place fell to Professor ——, an eminent and estimable man, but stiff and inaccessible, while Professor Porter walked second. The Seniors always remained rigidly erect while Professor —— passed by — and I believe the good absent-minded man was never aware of it — but when Professor Porter followed they bowed deferentially low. I can see now the genial smile which this highly irregular proceeding always brought to his face!

His mildness sometimes failed to hush the restlessness of youth, and his class-room was not always a model of quiet, but the most reckless student was never intentionally discourteous to him. When he was leaving the presidency he said "No young man has ever treated me with disrespect."

All manner of confidences came to him, and he gave advice to countless young men, often at critical points. Many of my own class consulted him as to the choice of a profession. Of his wisdom in such matters, the writer in the *Hartford Courant* before quoted says: "It seems to me that in such crises President Porter was unequalled as an adviser. Never have I known a man who had such power in seeing the real situation. He seemed to divine its essential features in advance of the description which the one who sought his advice would give, and then his counsel would commend itself to him

who had asked it as the inevitable course to take. It would not have been safe for a man of less wisdom to give such positive advice as he was ready to give. But I have never known any one who consulted him fail to follow his advice, or to regret having followed it. One highly characteristic peculiarity of his was the desire to economize effort. He estimated obstacles and difficulties at their true strength, and he would never ignore or defy them. So in his own life he wasted no strength in attempting the impossible, and those who sought his advice were ever sure to avoid what was Quixotic."

His friendly relations with his pupils were often continued throughout their after lives. He seemed never to forget any one. In his forty-five years as professor and president, he must have had more than four thousand students under his personal instruction, and the fidelity with which he remembered their personal traits and the promptness with which he came into true touch when he met them again in later years, was extraordinary if considered only as an achievement of memory. And co-extensive with his memory was his sympathy. The kind of help he gave may be instanced by one letter in his later years from an old pupil, who had just finished a piece of literary labor.

"I have wanted especially to tell you the pleasure it gives me that this work, so full of interest and satisfaction, came to me through *you*. For to you I owed my acquaintance with Mr. ——. And this was no accident, but an instance of that wide, sympathetic interest by which you have always been giving vital impulses, and

bringing openings, opportunities, friendships, to others. I have a most grateful sense of how many times your friendly hand has helped me at turning-points — sometimes at critical ones. You had more to do than any one else in deciding the course of my education; you threw opportunities in my way; indeed, living so much apart from men as I have always done, I hardly know how the early openings of work could ever have been found without your good word for me. That I did not enter the army, that I went to — as private tutor, that I was offered a place in newspaper work far beyond any reasonable expectations, — these were only a part of the occasions when your influence was strong, sometimes decisive.”

One who owed much to his counsel says: “He never was in the least degree ruffled or cooled when I did not follow his advice. In our many years of acquaintance, it repeatedly happened that we diverged on points of theory and practice. When I declined the path he recommended and chose another — sometimes in matters that to him were of deep interest — he remained just as friendly, just as cordial.”

By immemorial custom, one-half of the Senior class, in alphabetical order, was assigned respectively to President Woolsey and Professor Porter as its “division officer.” They were to keep the record of the “marks” of each student in their division, to give or refuse “excuses,” and administer such petty discipline as did not come before the Faculty as a body. So if Brown was absent from morning prayers, or Jones was reported

by a watchful tutor for going to sleep in church time, the fact was duly chronicled by a record of the prescribed number of marks in the division officer's register. If the decease of Smith's grandmother required his absence from college duties, the division officer must decide how many days the bereavement required for its indulgence. To such cares did time-honored usage assign two of the foremost scholars in America! Woolsey administered the office with justice and precision; Porter with the most good-natured and easy-going laxity. One incident of the whole system was a general prevalence of evasion and often of direct falsehood among the students. Neither Woolsey nor Porter stooped to very close scrutiny of the petitions and excuses offered them, but the awe in which Woolsey was held deterred from such flimsy and reckless pretexts as were presented to his amiable colleague. As Porter granted dispensations to a group of petitioners, one could sometimes recognize in his expression a look of mild contempt, which silently said, "I know some of you are cheating—the worse for you." Manly straightforwardness was greeted with something like joyful surprise. I venture to repeat a story told me by an old Yale man in one of the classes "before the war."

"In the days when the great event of the opening college year was a hot fight between Linonia and the Brothers for a majority of the Freshman class, I was campaign president of Linonia. I was in President Porter's division, and my first meeting with him was when he sent for me and said, 'Mr. H., I find your

marks amount to seventy, and you know that forty-eight require dismissal from college.' I answered him, 'Professor Porter, of course you know all about the societies, and I suppose the Faculty want some sort of equality kept up between them. Now for some years Linonia has been badly worsted, and is getting way behind. I am doing my very best to win the victory, and have been obliged to neglect my other work.' He smiled and said, 'Well, we will wipe off the marks and take a fresh start.' In a few days he summoned me again: 'Mr. H., you are reported as always absent from prayers, recitations, everything.' I told him, 'Professor Porter, the battle is desperate! It really demands the whole of my time. You know my college standing has always been good, and when this emergency is past I shall not fail in my duties.' He seemed half-amused, half-pleased, and dismissed me without reprimand or warning. When the campaign was over, I did my work and regained my old rank.

"Well, two years after came the war, and I was in the Confederate service through the whole of it. When the war ended, I came North—a stranger in a strange land. In New York one day, on Wall Street, I met Professor Porter—and he almost put his arms round me! His greeting was such as warmed me all through, and we had a little of the friendliest talk. I did not see him again for seven years, and then we met at Mount Desert in a party going up Newport Mountain. When we reached the summit the party scattered, and he drew me off to sit with him on the rocks. He said, 'I want to

talk with you about several things—about yourself. I have never forgotten our first meeting. The frank way you met me, and the tone you took, was rare in my experience with students.’ And he treated me like an old friend.”

If a hundred graduates of Yale could give each his personal reminiscences of Dr. Porter, it would be perhaps his fittest biography. It must suffice in this place to add one more such reminiscence. The speaker was a student under his presidency, and all that has here been said of his personal relations with students applies as much to the presidency as to the professorship—as President Carter’s account of the later period will show.

“I loved him,” said this man, “better than any one but my wife and children. He was like a father to me. My home friends were strict Congregationalists. In my Sophomore year at Yale I felt drawn to the Episcopal Church, and especially to St. Paul’s. I told President Porter, and he encouraged me in going there. After six months I wanted to be confirmed, and I found him most sympathetic as to this. When the day came, he shortened the service in the chapel, went down to St. Paul’s, and took his place in the chancel with Bishop Williams. I was never more touched than by his doing that.

“All our class were fond of him. He made them ashamed to take any advantage. When a fellow got up to recite and didn’t know anything, Porter would help him out. He would make the questions easier and easier until the man *had* to give the right answer!

“He always entered into all the particulars of your

affairs. When he visited me on my country place, I found he knew all about farming. When I was clearing out the trees I invited him to come out and play Mr. Gladstone, — so one wet day I fitted him out with an old slouch hat, heavy coat and boots, and we went out and chopped all the morning.

“In his many letters to me, there was never a hint of wanting money for the college, nor did he ever introduce a man to me who wanted money, — he was not willing that money should sully our friendship. As president he was not a good beggar — he did not like that business. And in his letters at his busiest times he never wrote of being tired, nor in conversation did he ever speak of it.

“He was god-father to my son, and every year on his birthday he sent him a present. Never in twelve years did he forget it. His last present, just before his death, was a big Webster’s Dictionary, and it became the boy’s chief treasure.”

An early pupil and life-long friend of Dr. Porter, Professor Jacob Cooper, has contributed his impressions and reminiscences, of which the following passages relate to him especially in the capacity of a college instructor.

“There was no occasion for him to reprove in the class-room. The instructor was so artless, so confiding, so full of sweetness and light, that no student, however boyish and full of mischief, could think of giving any annoyance. For all instinctively felt that he lived for their welfare; that no thought of himself was entertained; and therefore no roguish freak could be looked upon as a personal indignity. There was no constraint

between teacher and pupil. The professorial chair was not held as a vantage ground save to do good to the learner. Hence there was the most perfect freedom in the class-room, in the home of the teacher which was open as the day to all who wished to enter, and in all public intercourse. He was the minister for the service of every one; both friend and instructor so blended that the two relations could not be distinguished. It is hard to say, in referring to him as a Professor, which feeling predominates; whether love for the friend, respect for the noble simplicity of his character, or admiration for his ability and culture. For these were united in such a happy combination that his pupils must ever feel a new inspiration for all that is true and good when they think of him as their teacher.

“His government of young men whether as professor in his own lecture room or president of the whole university, was by the law of kindness. His nature was wholly averse to harsh methods, and he employed no punishment as discipline while professor. His manner was so genial, his desire for the well-being of his pupils so hearty, his mastery of the subjects taught so thorough, that there was really no call for animadversion save in rare instances. Even in these cases he thought it better not to notice offences than to interrupt the progress of his work with those who wished to learn. For the turmoil occasioned in the current of university life is poorly compensated by the punishment of an offender. The great body of students desire to do their duty; they know the authors of all mischief done, and if they can-

not correct the evils by the *esprit de corps* of a healthy college sentiment, the infliction of punishment will surely not be successful.

“It is true that among a large body of strong characters, such as college students are, and at a period when their passions are hot and the sense of mischief at its highest, offenses must come, and therefore the power of the instructor must be felt occasionally to be duly respected by the unruly. While President, Dr. Porter did not shrink from the infliction of punishment when his colleagues deemed it necessary. There will always be some professor in any faculty who is not able to stand alone, and for the protection of such the students must be taught that there is reserve power somewhere which can be applied. For his own protection President Porter never found it necessary to punish. In fact his aims and methods rendered punitive discipline well nigh useless. This temper he always retained; and though for the sake of others he did not refuse to punish, yet the discipline of the whole university was strongly marked with his well-known disposition.”

The general feeling of his pupils is fitly spoken in verses written just after his death by Robert Cameron Rogers.

Alike all loved him : careful student, drone,
Scapegrace or steady man ; all knew
His mild reproof was for their help alone,
And his reproofs were few.
No man remembers him to have his heart
Tingle with some keen unforgotten smart.

No gift of comeliness had he, scant grace
Of bearing, little pride of mien —
He had the rugged old-time Roundhead face,
Severe and yet serene.
But through those keen and steadfast eyes of blue
The soul shone, fearless, modest, strong and true.

And when at times he smiled, one always thought
Of early, rare New England springs —
Of sudden fleeting April sunbeams caught
Amid some farm, that clings
Rock-sown, ill-paying him who strives to till,
Along the slope of a New England hill.

He sought the truth ; the vision of his mind,
Discerning, clear, he would not dim
With half-true compromise ; he cast behind
All that rang false to him, —
His search is ended now, his labor done,
His requiescat well and fully won.

The college elms are sleeping ; winter still
Broods in the sap ; but soon their veins
Under the waxing April suns will thrill,
And soon come April rains ;
And they will wake, and bow themselves, and wait
For sight of one for whom they wake too late.

We have still to speak of Professor Porter in the special function of the *teacher*. For this work he had some of the chief qualifications in a high degree, — perfect familiarity with the subjects taught, the power to enter sympathetically into the learner's mind, and an interest both in the subject and the pupil that never flagged. And yet his success in teaching mental and

moral philosophy to the undergraduate students could hardly be called eminent. To appreciate the reason we must look at the system under which he taught.

As I am writing these pages, I have happened upon a passage in Edward Everett Hale's reminiscences of his college days at Harvard. "The greater part of the instruction given in the four years when I was in Cambridge was by recitation. Each section was of about twenty persons, seldom more, and you had a regular lesson assigned, in which you were expected to recite, precisely as a boy is at school. You were seldom called upon alphabetically; generally the teacher took you by surprise, for fear you should have been reading up in advance the sentences which were to come to you."

This description applies almost word for word to the method of instruction generally employed at Yale through the administration of President Woolsey, and, with somewhat wider exceptions, the succeeding administration of President Porter. The sections were larger than Dr. Hale mentions — in Freshman year at Yale there used to be from twenty-five to forty students in a division, and in Senior year some fifty or sixty. The time for each recitation was one hour, and the instructor generally aimed to call up about one-half of the men every day, marking each on a numerical scale according to the success of his recitation.

Dr. Hale's comment on the system is this: "I should say that nine-tenths of the time which we spent with the teachers was spent in this way; as nearly profitless as any exercise can be, unless the teacher tries to give

interest to it. It merely exposes a person who has learned the lesson to the annoyance of sitting for an hour to hear the blunders of those who have not. If you have not learned the lesson, it is true that it is a way of learning it; but it is a very poor way, and I should not suppose that people would make a system for the benefit of those who do not study."

But from my own experience of six years as student and tutor at Yale I should somewhat modify this estimate. Dr. Hale intimates that the student's time in recitation was nearly wasted "unless the teacher tried to give interest to it." But, in my judgment, any effort of the unhappy teacher in this direction was almost foredoomed to failure. The conditions of time alone were well-nigh fatal to him. He was expected within an hour at farthest to examine say twenty men in succession, estimate the merit shown by each, and mark him accordingly. What time was left for the giving of any instruction? Giving instruction did not seem to be contemplated in the plan. The rationale of it was that the student was to get his instruction from the book before coming to the class-room, and his attendance in the class-room was chiefly that a college officer might find out whether he had done his work. Whatever the theory, whatever the origin of the system, that certainly was its working. And to this purpose was devoted almost the whole time spent by the student with his instructors — usually about three hours of each day.

To the almost necessary failure of the teacher to give either instruction or stimulus, the principal exceptions

were of two kinds. A teacher with an extraordinary power in the swift and economic use of time, might edge into the interstices of the hour a certain amount of tersely given information. Professor James Hadley was notably skillful in this way. Or, by a certain driving force, — the impact of a forceful, authoritative personality — the teacher might pervade the class-room with a kind of vital energy, that compelled the attention and in a degree roused the minds of the young men before him. This was true of President Woolsey. I remember one man among my own instructors who remarkably combined these two resources, — Tutor William Hutcheson, afterward principal of the Free Academy at Norwich. In that man there was a kind of leonine energy that kept us all on the *qui vive* while we were in his presence. The vigor of his tones, the promptness with which his questions were put, the speed with which a blunderer was dismissed, — an indefinable but all-pervading stress and glow — acted like a strong tonic while he taught us, and was indirectly felt when we prepared for our lessons for him. Besides this, out of the ardor of his own interest and by the swiftness with which he utilized every moment, he poured upon us information in grammar, history and rhetoric, and actually wakened in us a sympathetic enthusiasm for the patriotism and eloquence of Demosthenes. His teaching was as fine a triumph of individual power over a cramping system as I ever witnessed.

Among our teachers there was no lack of men whose illustrious scholarship was matched by their fidelity

in the drudgery of the class-room. We could hardly fail to catch something of fine influence from such men as Dana and Hadley and Thacher and Newton. But the system of daily examinations was not framed to let their minds impart to ours of their richness and inspiration; it set them as catechisers to find out how much we already knew — or how little. And the motive and main-spring of the whole business was the desire, on the poor scholar's part, to keep clear of a "flunk" or "fizzle" and avoid the danger-line below which lay a "condition" or dismissal, and with the good scholar to make a "rush" and keep up his high rank.¹

¹ If I may speak from my own experience in a Yale tutorship (1866-68), I began with the assumption of an interest on the students' part in the subject-matter before us (the orations of Demosthenes), and on my part the office of a sympathetic guide. A very few days taught me that this idea was wholly impracticable under existing conditions. The necessary business of examining and marking allowed no time for it, and the attitude of the students' minds, — intent on personal success or failure as to marks, — was wholly unfavorable to it. I speedily realized that the work set me was not to lead, but to drive. It was essentially a system of compulsion, and it must be allowed that it was in a way effective for the many who needed compulsion. Backed as it was by suspension or dismissal for failure to reach a certain standard, it held to their work a great many who were willing to shirk, and did them good in spite of themselves. But when I could crowd in, by shortening the recitation, a fifteen-minute lecture on Greek history, I found in my listeners the liveliest interest. It was not the subject, but the method, that made dull task-work of the regular hour. I was deeply interested, on a recent visit to Yale, to find how some of Dr. Porter's pupils (and warmest admirers) were modifying his methods of undergraduate instruction. For the daily examination still deemed essential, they provided by asking certain questions to receive written answers in the first quarter-hour; and the remaining time was given to oral teaching, with questions and answers exchanged in a free, conversational way. These men had grafted Dr. Porter's method with his

It was under this system that most of Professor Porter's teaching to undergraduates was given. We learned psychology and logic — if we could — from Sir William Hamilton's text-books, and Professor Porter examined us to find how much we knew. There was no time for him to teach us anything. There was no chance in the recitation-hour for one of us to ask a question. His amiability in helping each individual blunderer to escape a disgraceful failure prolonged the time thus spent, and consumed the scanty margin possible under an economy like Hadley's for conveying instruction. A scene rises before my memory which epitomizes the whole thing:—on his feet to recite stands the one man in the class with a clear genius for metaphysics, Alfred Walker; Porter asks a question which wakens real thought, and Walker stands in negligent attitude with absorbed look, actually *thinking out* as best he may the reason and truth of the matter — not to give an answer that will pass muster, but to see into the question for its own sake. A sort of amused smile hovers on the faces of the class at such a waste of time and interruption of business! Five seconds or so is the maximum pause that can be allowed, and Walker must make some perfunctory response or speedily give place to some one else.

In the case of psychology, the novelty and abstruse-graduate classes (described in this book by Professor Sneath) upon the old undergraduate system. This is but a single illustration of the advance in the methods of the University, which it is beyond the province of this volume to enlarge upon. To a considerable extent the old system still survives.

ness of the subject especially called for free exposition on the part of our teacher—and no one could have given the explanations we needed better than Dr. Porter, if he had had the chance. I remember how long such technical words as *concept* floated in my mind with only the vaguest significance attached. Many important propositions conveyed to us stumbling beginners about as much sense, to borrow Mill's illustration, as that "Humpty Dumpty is Abracadabra." As the work went on the diligent ones did get at least a glimmering notion of what it was all about, and there were some, no doubt, who acquired a fair general knowledge of the Hamiltonian psychology and formal logic. Probably when "The Human Intellect" became the text-book, more and clearer knowledge was imparted. But the radical vice of the system always remained. There was a partial escape from it in the lectures which constituted a part, though the smaller part, of Professor Porter's undergraduate teaching. These were instructive and suggestive. Perhaps the chief drawback was that there was no opportunity to ask questions.

The old plan of recitations belonged essentially to the system of compulsion and authority, and worked best when administered in an authoritative and energetic way, by men like Woolsey and Hutcheson. It did not accord with Porter's mildness of disposition and temperament, which admirably fitted him to lead, but not to drive. In preparation and in recitation his students were apt to be lazy. Covert helps in the recitation-room were used with great freedom. Dr. McCosh was present

on one of these occasions, and afterward said in amazement, "Why, Dr. Porter, half the men had their books open behind the seats!" — "Oh well," was the answer, "I am glad to get them to open their books on any terms!"

Since the above was written, I have received a fine estimate of Dr. Porter's undergraduate teaching at a later time and from his own text-book, by Rev. Charles O. Day. "We had his attention in the first year of the presidency, 1871-2. We used the shorter form of his work, *The Elements of Intellectual Science*, and we were, I believe, the first class to use the book. Naturally he was preoccupied with his new presidential duties, and in spite of the eclat of the new book I do not think that even we found him at his best. Nor can I give any other judgment than your own in regard to the ordinary class-work. I do not remember that we were there either very definitely trained or inspired in psychological study for ourselves. The same was true in ethics, where we used Hopkins's *The Law of Love and Love as a Law*. The examinations were less searching than sympathetic, and the president generally bore the brunt of them himself. His leading questions often permitted the student to answer in simple positives and negatives. He was too kindly to humiliate any man, and if a fellow was utterly at sea it appeared in the President's fatherly judgment more of his misfortune than his fault. And yet every man loved him, and gained really very much psychological self-respect from him, and would repeat his phrases, and I have no doubt imbibed a good deal of

psychological and philosophical spirit, if less of definite knowledge; and at least learned to turn the thought inward, and to believe in the soul, and especially to be sure of and to sedulously guard the divinely implanted and eternal intuitions of Cause, Order, and Right. One became a better thinker, steadily and surely, under President Porter, even if he could not very glibly or systematically unfold the contents of the soul. I am not sure even but that for the common average mind this was the best discipline that could have been given *in our times.*"

What a teacher he was under different conditions will appear when we come to speak of him with his graduate classes in theology and philosophy. As to the undergraduate system here described—in the college at large and in his own department—there must always, I think, be some wonder that Dr. Porter should have been content to retain it, and never have favored any radical change. It was part of a general system which as a whole he heartily believed in and supported against modern innovation. To discuss his conservatism in educational methods would open too large a field for this place. But I venture to make one suggestion. The conservative position, in education as in any other province, may of course be defended on the ground that it is essentially the right position. But Dr. Porter's conservatism admits in part of a more personal explanation. He was so vastly and variously active, under established methods, that the economy of vital force hardly admitted that lavish expenditure which a radical

change of method or principle exacts. For a sober and thoughtful man, any change of foundations — any great modification of established channels of thought and action — is originated or even accepted only at heavy cost of brain-power. And for this special form of service we are hardly to look to the man whose brain-power is constantly and lavishly spent in the administration of things under existing systems.

We have spoken of Dr. Porter under various aspects as a collegiate Teacher. The other great activity of his life was as a Thinker. Special results of his thought, especially as a philosopher, will be presented later, showing the ripe outcome of his later life. But it is appropriate here to take a comprehensive glance at the main outlines of his thought, in relation to the world-debates of his time.

The reader has seen how deeply the beliefs of Christianity mingled with his inheritance, with the best influences of the community, with the groundwork of his character and his practical activities. In the years of his early manhood, the great intellectual interest of New England was a debate between two interpretations of Christianity. The slowly ripening dissent from Calvinism at last reached in Channing and his associates to a denial of the Atonement and the Deity of Christ, — doctrines which had hitherto been held as central in Protestant no less than in Catholic Christianity. Scarcely had the new opinions crystallized in the Unitarian body,

when a bolder departure was made by Emerson. He renounced the supernatural sanctions of Christianity, while he affirmed with extraordinary force and persuasiveness the moral order of the universe and the spiritual nature of man. He found eager followers, and soon Theodore Parker preached similar ideas in a more aggressive spirit. Emerson was "an iconoclast without a hammer, who took down our idols so tenderly that it seemed like an act of worship," but Parker wielded the weapon of Thor. Both men met the most strenuous opposition not only from the Orthodox but from the conservative Unitarians.

Meantime the older form of faith had rallied its forces with such vigor that the ecclesiastical secession was held down to a very small minority. Thomas Jefferson in his later years wrote to a friend that he expected to see the entire rising generation of young men in America become Unitarians. In fact only the smallest fraction of them were drawn to the Unitarian name or organization. But Orthodoxy, thus triumphant over its external foe, was itself divided again and again into opposite parties. Now Taylor and Barnes, now Bushnell, and now Beecher, led the succeeding waves of innovation. Thus the religious debate was manifold, with a great cleavage line between Unitarianism and Orthodoxy, and each of these camps divided between opposing parties.

A few centuries earlier, such differences would have resulted in an attempt by each party to burn the members of the other at the stake. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, in America, the external result was only the organization of a new sect, and while the two

parties called each other hard names in print they were very good friends in private. A few years later, and the new differences did not even generate new sects—they were tolerated within the same organization. Old and New School Presbyterians reunited; Orthodox Congregationalism never divided, after the first secession; and in the Unitarian body the Radical lion and Conservative lamb lay down together.

It was the spectacle of such diversities which occasioned the Frenchman's characterization of America, as a country with a hundred religions and only one gravity. But a century of free debate, in a nation whose foundations had been laid by the Puritan and Quaker, produced a remarkable result. The disputants found themselves more and more in harmony. The Orthodox learned from the Unitarian a more fearless trust in reason. The Unitarian learned to better appreciate the depths of experience and of revelation which were expressed under the Orthodox phraseology. The Supernaturalist began to see that the Transcendentalist was perhaps expressing his own creed "writ large," and the Transcendentalist was glad to aid his vision, which now soared and now faltered, by the soberer teaching of science and history and institutions. And meanwhile the atmosphere of terror which for many centuries had begirt the explorer of religious truth, and associated "free thinking" with perdition, was swiftly vanishing from the minds of men.

As we look back from our present standpoint to the debates of half a century ago, we see Dr. Porter a champion of the Orthodox faith against its impugn-ers.

But that he was a man of the new day was shown partly by his refusal to carry controversial theology into the pulpit. Times were already changing from those days so graphically described by Mrs. Stowe in *The Minister's Wooing*, when neighboring ministers battled points of divinity in the pulpit, and their parishioners discussed them during the week. The change was forwarded by men like Dr. Porter, who in the pulpit used truth mainly in its practical and spiritual application. But no man was readier than he for the arena of debate afforded by the press. His part in those discussions cannot be better described than in the language of the *Boston Herald* at the time of his death.

"He made his first mark as a thinker in his comments upon the new literary epoch which began with the publication of Emerson's *Nature*, with the issuing of the *Dial*, with the appearance of Dr. Brownson's *Review*, and with the full presentation of Mr. Parker's religious opinions. He brought a friendly suit against all these writers, and made himself conspicuously known as their ablest antagonist, through the columns of the *New Englander*, which was established as the rival of the *Christian Examiner*, in order to furnish a channel for the new thought which was seeking to find expression in regard to New England Orthodoxy, but which did not indorse the views of the Boston liberals. Forty years ago the Unitarian and the Orthodox people were in sharp conflict, and during this period Dr. Porter was a strong man on the conservative side, striking hard blows at the weak points in the liberal ranks, and yet welcoming the freer

thought as the necessary complement of his own position. For many years nearly every number of the *New Englander* had a trenchant article from him on the new phases of the great controversy. He never took advantage of his antagonist, but hit from the shoulder, and his arguments were often acknowledged as an enlargement of the range of the discussion. He was on good terms with the men whom he met in these written debates, and he established a reputation for fairness and frankness which has entered as a permanent tradition into the spirit of those times. He fought hard for the old faith, but he was too broad-minded a man to cling to it as a permanent expression of truth. When Dr. Bushnell was proscribed for holding views not in harmony with the Congregational faith, he defended Dr. Bushnell though he did not agree with him, and had great weight in making the Congregational Church broad enough to hold him. . . . But it was to Boston and to its group of liberal men that his thought was oftenest turned in sympathetic admiration and yet with critical reserve. If one will consult the *New Englander* for this period, he will find that Emerson had no more discriminating admirer, that Theodore Parker had no manlier antagonist, and that Mr. Hedge and his associates in the *Christian Examiner* found in him a foeman worthy of their steel. He was always great in these discussions by his magnanimity, by his readiness to concede large and generous things to others, by his ability to put himself in the other man's place. When the truth was at stake he had no reserves, but he always

thought and wrote like a gentleman. In the galaxy of the great New Englanders of our time he holds by right a foremost place, and among the critics of liberal thought no conservative has surpassed him in acuteness or in suggestive power."

Yet theology was not the most characteristic field of Dr. Porter's thought. In that department the great truths seemed to him given by revelation and amply proved by experience. Those truths were to be defended, inculcated, applied; they were in some degree to receive new and larger interpretations,—but it was not this ground that gave most room and invitation for original exploration. That call, for him, drew to the mysterious region of the mind's own nature. What is this self, that feels and thinks and acts? What is knowledge? On what basis at last do our beliefs rest? How does the mind apprehend reality outside of itself? How does it apprehend that Supreme Reality which it would fain regard as its source and home? What is the constitution, what are the laws, of man's inner world?

These questions may be said to underlie all theology, all philosophy, and all science. Yet few men have the taste and the capacity to cope directly with these problems. He was one of the few. The general character and results of his thinking will be given on later pages, by two of his pupils and followers. A few words may be given it here. Following with great ardor the paths of this abstruse quest—a quest which to the non-metaphysical mind often seems to increase in uncertainty and perplexity just in proportion as the most fundamental issues

are at stake, — yet Dr. Porter never appeared to others to be troubled by even a touch of that fundamental skepticism which has lent such a tragic element to the intellectual story of our time. If he ever encountered that Apollyon, the fight was hidden from all the world, and only the cheerful confidence of the victor was seen. While his mind was keenly inquisitive, its essential fiber was affirmative. By inheritance, habit, and character, the life of activity, goodness, and faith was so strong that the negative force of doubt had little chance with him. His philosophical inquiry was inspired by a most human and Yankee desire to *know*, — a natural and wholesome curiosity, finding scope at first in the actual world as it lies open to sense, and then in the deeper world of spiritual reality.

Comparing him again with men of his earlier time, we note an early divergence from the first teacher who fully woke him — Coleridge, and from the philosophy which was common to Coleridge, Wordsworth, Emerson, and the Transcendentalists. In all these, expressed or assumed, is the idea of more direct access of the mind to truth than is afforded by the logical or analytical or scientific faculty. It is, in the language of the German idealists, the *Reason* — the direct vision of the soul — as distinct from the *Understanding*, the inferior faculty whose processes can be clearly explained and logically defended. This idea is often employed with great fruitfulness and power by a master of thought and feeling. It accords with the poetical treatment of life. But statements which do not profess to be verifiable under

cross-examination, and whose sanction is only the spontaneous assent of certain minds, while other and equally intelligent minds find no authority in them — such propositions and such a way of thought are wholly unsatisfactory to men of logical and scientific type. Of this type was Dr. Porter. This trait is clearly shown in the early letter to his brother (page 33), in his dissatisfaction with the vagueness of the Platonists, and his query as to Kant's *Practical Reason*, — a query which ended in rejection. So, he drew aloof on the one side from the intuitional philosophy of Coleridge and Emerson. But on the other side he was still more unsympathetic toward that unsparing analysis and dissection which at last cuts away all foundations as unproved, and lands one in the gulf of skepticism. Between this Scylla and Charybdis — between the poet's faith and the skeptic's denial — he held the middle ground. He was one of those philosophers who subject the mind to an analysis not only fearless but as far as possible definite and exact, and find in it a real knowledge, under laws capable of some precision of statement. Of this philosophy a leading branch has been that known as the Scotch school, and with that school Dr. Porter was in a large degree in sympathy.

But a deeper characteristic than the name of any school conveys was his desire to know and appreciate all the facts bearing upon his subject. In this, the best sense of the word, he was a *scientific* philosopher. He remained to his latest day a student, not merely in that he continued to read, but in that he kept his mind always open to new light, and ready to modify its earlier conclu-

sions. After seven years in his professorship, he sought the home of philosophic thought, Germany, and devoted a winter in Berlin to most assiduous study. He came into personal contact with the leading minds. He conversed with the aged Schelling and with Humboldt. He steeped himself in the atmosphere of the philosophic schools, and came in touch with their best spirits and methods. Out of the provincialism of New England he passed to become a citizen of the intellectual world. The controversies of Mill and Hamilton and Mansel had no closer observer than he. When in later years the University of Edinburgh crowned him with the doctorate, she greeted him as a long-time and familiar friend. He was welcomed in Oxford halls, as the peer of the ripest thinkers.

For his conception of the laws of mind and of morals, as it was finally moulded, the reader must turn to Professor Duncan's and Dr. Nakashima's papers. From these may best be gathered how clear and firm was his belief in the spiritual element in man, — the element that thinks and feels and chooses — as a reality, solid, unique, and active; mysterious, but in a sufficient sense intelligible. His philosophy was thus in sympathy with his theology, and afforded a basis for it. To the materialist view of the universe he was opposed as a philosopher no less than as a Christian. The agnostic view he combated on purely intellectual grounds, as well as from the position of supernaturalism. And it was this great contest — the maintenance of a spiritual interpretation of man and the universe — to which much of the

best energy of his later years was given. It was to him a hearted cause. All he loved best was more deeply at stake by far than in the earlier controversy with Unitarians and Transcendentalists. They and he, foes in a way, were yet children of one mother and disciples at heart of one faith. But as the theater had broadened from New England to the world, so the issue had deepened to a question of any living relation between man and God, and any hope beyond the grave. As he threw himself into this debate, the weapons he wielded had been forged in deep brooding and long study, far from polemic heats, in the free and lonely fields of "divine Philosophy."

To those who knew him on both the meditative and the social sides of his nature, the marvel was how he could combine such opposite activities. Nothing so absorbs and abstracts the whole man as concentrated thought on these abstrusest themes. Such a thinker, in the words of William Smith, "like the celebrated traveler whose ambition it was to detect the source of the Nile, leaves behind him the broad stream with its fertile and populous border whereon temple and city have been built—he bends his devoted course to where the river of life grows more and more narrow, more and more silent as he proceeds—and at length stands alone, in brief and troubled rapture over a discovery which may still be dubious and in which no one participates."

Yet from such explorations where the mind "goes sounding on its dim and perilous way," this thinker constantly came back at a moment's call to the friendliest

touch with the warm human world. If you wanted the most sympathetic and receptive listener for your everyday affairs or your gravest personal problems—you found him in this philosopher.

An epoch in his mental development was the winter of study in Berlin. In the spring of 1853 he went to Europe, with Mrs. Porter and a party of friends, and spent six months in English and Continental travel. His companions were struck by the quickness and insight with which he found out whatever was best worth knowing in the places and people they visited. In the autumn Mrs. Porter returned to her children, and he settled down for a winter of work in the University. His diary records an unbroken succession of crowded days,—lectures, private study, more lectures, visits exchanged with professors and their families, and still more lectures! Sometimes a slight attack of illness is mentioned, but instantly he is on his feet again and hard at work. He had at the outset a very imperfect knowledge of German as spoken, and even of the written language in the technicalities of philosophy. So at first he had to shape his tools while he was using them. His education was not confined to the class-room. He visited concerts, operas, theaters, military reviews, political assemblies; he describes in one letter the proceedings of a beer-drinking club of theological students; he filled his lungs with the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the German capital. The letters make frequent mention of kindly inter-

course with the men of science and letters in homes of plain living and high thinking. There is the story of Christmas eve at Professor Trendlenberg's, with the Christmas tree, and the presents from the children to the American who had already made himself their friend. There are full reports of his conversations with Schelling, whom he especially admired, and with Humboldt. He made acquaintance with Carl Ritter. He writes to his wife: "It is quite impossible to understand or describe the cordiality and kindness with which I am treated by everybody here. They are very lovely and warm-hearted, and make you feel that you are most welcome." Dr. Jacob Cooper was his fellow-student at this time, and he writes: "He mingled with the brilliant throng of professors and students, adapting himself to every age and stage of culture. He was both admired and loved in that assemblage which composed the most intellectual as well as elegant coterie of literature at that time in the world. His kindness to young men in the University and their fondness for him were as marked as when he lectured to his own students at Yale, while his reputation as a thinker insured for him the most deferential treatment from those professors at whose feet he sat as a learner."

From certain letters to his wife during this period, we get a glimpse of one aspect which was very rarely disclosed. A life that bears itself so strongly and steadily as his, sometimes prompts in weaker mortals the question, — is there always a peace within to match the unshaken bearing, or are there times of conflict? It is almost by

reading between the lines that we see that the clouds sometimes pressed heavily upon him. In part they were the clouds that most sorely try the human spirit — the suffering and danger of the beloved. While Mrs. Porter was with her husband in Europe, she had symptoms of trouble which skilled physicians interpreted as showing a chronic affection of the stomach, — the beginning, as the result proved, of infirmity that was to be life-long, and grow into confirmed invalidism. Her early letters after her return told of a grievous trouble, — the youngest daughter, Sarah, a peculiarly bright and lovable girl, was attacked by illness that threatened a slow and sure decline. The tidings fell upon him far distant from wife, children and friends, and just when the difficulties of his immediate task seemed more than he could overcome, But of this last he writes no word; and for the deeper anxiety he only takes firmer hold, for himself and his own, on the rock that abides when all else is shaken.

“But I think I am submissive and resigned to the will of Providence. In that finest of all passages, so far as Christian philosophy is concerned, Romans viii. 14–28, properly interpreted [‘As many as are led by the Spirit of God they are the sons of God. . . . And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God’], as also II. Corinthians v. 1–10 [‘We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens’] — I find the Christian philosophy of life, though it is difficult for me to make it real. I want my children and my wife (who are nearly

all whom I expect to influence, and, with the exception of my parents and brothers and sisters, all whose constant affection and sympathy I hope to enjoy) to be thoroughly imbued with this view of life. These principles have always been at the bottom of my want of sympathy with rich and ambitious people—and not my envy or ill-nature. It makes little difference with me what such people think of me. I ought to teach them something, and so ought my family. I am bound to do it—not in the way of a godly exhortation, to be followed by dashing or heartless display, but by a loving, charitable, self-respecting temper, that sees its own faults and is willing to ‘please not itself.’ I hope you find the ‘peace that passeth understanding,’ and that this you will seek for in this our affliction, and that Sarah will be led by you in the preparation which God will give her for a better and happier lot than this.”

Only when the home prospect has brightened, and when he has fought his own battle to victory, does he acknowledge what his personal discouragements had been.

“For the first two months, the strangeness and loneliness, and my ignorance of the language, and the effort to hear and write and study, and the dark days and the cold weather, were all against me. I was much tried by the news about Sarah. But since I have got better news, and the days are longer and brighter, and I understand easily and speak more freely, it is far more agreeable. My health has been very steadily improving, for no discernible reason that I can see except that I feel more sure that I can master the tough metaphysics. One great

secret, perhaps *the* great secret, of my depression and consequent ill-health, has been the consciousness that I could not readily and easily and perhaps never could come up to the expectation of the public and my friends in this respect. I was not and knew I was not sufficiently master of the language and especially of the philosophical dialect. No Englishman has done it yet who has written on the subject, and it is only as one lives among the people and hears the dialect as a living thing that it can be attained. The whole matter clears itself up more and more, and I only want *time* here to do the business up to my entire satisfaction. Much will be expected of me, but I fear I shall disappoint you all if you hurry me home before I am ready."

He returned home in the spring of 1854, somewhat earlier than he thought was wise for the purpose he had in view, — for the college authorities were eager for his presence, and did not appreciate as he did the importance of the foundation he was laying. He came back to his college work, and to the home which gave to all his work both sympathy and rest. He often came into the house a tired man, glad to be still and drink in complete repose for the brief space allowed him. But it was a companioned repose that did him most good. Always the first question when he passed the door was, "Where's your mother?" — unless, as most frequently, the wife was occupying her familiar chair or sofa in the sitting-room. With her and the daughters he shared all his interests, and to that little circle many a personal and professional secret was safely confided. He always had a great many

visitors, for his house was hospitably open not only to private friends but to many guests of the college. How well he could put himself in touch with a child's interests, and bring his own experience to a child's help, is shown by a letter to his oldest daughter on her fourteenth birthday.

"You have made a very good beginning in all your studies, and have overcome most of the little negligences into which girls are apt to fall. I do not wish you to worry at all about little mistakes and errors. When I was in college, I used to mark every little mistake that I made. I do not mean every error in which I was caught,—I was not caught very often, for there were forty of us to recite and I did not recite oftener than every other time. But I was accustomed to follow the passages which my classmates read, and if they or the instructor read in such a way as to show me I was in the wrong, I made a little mark on the edge of the page, and then counted them up, and if I had made one or two, and especially if I had made five or six, I could almost cry, though I was seventeen or eighteen years old. When I studied algebra I cried because there were some things I could not understand, and more than once too. I tell you these things because I wish you to know that I used to make mistakes and get discouraged, as I suppose you do. It is not worth while to feel very bad, because we can try again. You are a little apt to feel bad, but I don't believe you are any more so than I was at your age. I am glad to hear that riding does you so much good, and I hope you will take an interest in the gymnastic appa-

tus when it is put up. Your difficulties that cause these uneasy feelings can be very much counteracted if you will use cold water every day in the morning and rub yourself very dry, and then make all sorts of motions with your arms to get yourself wide-awake and in a glow. So when you feel nervous and wretched, — if you will breathe a good many times as Mr. Russell tells you how to do, and especially with your arms make such motions as *these* [pictures] you will throw off the bad feelings. There is not a day when I do not have some most awful feelings that I cannot account for, and they are all owing to dyspepsia, and I have to fight against them very hard. That is the way we all must do. I have no doubt that you will get over these troubles by and by, if you play enough and do not get too tired. You must sleep enough, too. . . . You will think I have written you a very sober letter, but you will be quite sure that I love you none the less and wish you were here very much indeed.”

This allusion to his uncomfortable physical sensations reveals what nothing in his bearing or words suggested to those outside of his family — and what was never allowed to be a burden on them, — that he was a frequent sufferer from dyspepsia and its kindred ills. It was largely due, no doubt, to his constant overwork. Besides his regular teaching, his petty duties as “division officer,” his full share of the general management and care of the college, and his constant study of new authors and new lines of thought in his own department, — besides these strictly professional engagements,

he was always in the habit of preaching frequently ; he gave courses of lectures, sometimes to student audiences, as at Andover, sometimes of a popular character, as at Cincinnati ; he wrote voluminously for the press, as is shown by the bibliography attached to this volume, — and even this does not include many of his ephemeral productions ; and, like others of the busiest of mankind in their own vocations, he was continually appealed to for all kinds of service by friends and strangers, and continually made generous response. Yet on all this he somehow thrived. He was more or less plagued by dyspepsia, and had many an hour of extreme fatigue ; but he grew stronger as the years went on ; the dyspepsia gradually disappeared ; he was, said those nearest him, most buoyant and cheerful in the last twenty years of his life. The turning from one kind of work to another seemed to bring freshness with it. Mother Earth gave him of her vigor as he busied himself with his trees and flowers and vegetables, and took long walks in the charming country that surrounds his home. In vacations he gave himself up wholly and heartily to outdoor life. He had a quick sense of humor, which was always dropping oil on the joints of the machine. And he was blessed with a temperament that extraordinarily combined ease with efficiency. There are men who can never cut off the draft from their boilers when the work is done, but waste their fuel in useless blaze. But his system seemed to generate exactly the force necessary for the occasion, and then leave him healthily relaxed and at rest.

His home life did not escape the clouds whose rising has been noted. His wife was gradually shut off from most of her activities. The housekeeping passed into the hands of the eldest daughter. The wife could no longer accompany her husband on his foreign journeys or even on the summer outings. But nothing quenched her active spirit, nor was she wholly cut off even from benevolent work outside of the home. She remained her husband's companion and support until near the end of his life. But the daughter Sarah slowly failed until her death in 1860. To the last she was not only brave, but full of good cheer; quick in wit and prompt in suggestion, always hopeful, in small domestic emergencies as well as in grave affairs. Beloved in life, more intensely beloved after death,—it is such lives, such experiences, that feed the deepest springs of human faith and hope.

Certain activities of Dr. Porter may be here spoken of before passing from the period of his professorship to that of the presidency. Especially notable was his occupancy of the chair of Systematic Theology in the Divinity School, after the death of Dr. Taylor in 1858. The general character of his theology has already been indicated, yet justice may best be done to so many-sided a thinker as Dr. Porter by giving interpretations of him from men of different standpoints. In the following pages he is characterized as a theologian by his col-

league, Professor Fisher, and afterward as a teacher by two of his pupils in the Divinity School.

In his early days, when he left college and was pursuing his studies for the ministry, the "New Haven Controversy" was at its height. Apart from his own natural tendencies, the circumstances in which he was placed were such as would naturally excite in him a warm interest in the memorable debate. His father was a wise, moderate, judicious man, not likely to partake of polemical heat, yet openly sympathetic, and not inactive in his sympathy, with the liberal side, of which Dr. Taylor, Dr. Fitch and Dr. Goodrich were the most noted leaders. Dr. Taylor was then in the full vigor of his powers, and in the habit, especially in connection with religious revivals, of preaching with extraordinary power and eloquence to the college students. Dr. Porter could not fail to be impressed by his addresses. Moreover, his intimacy with the family of Dr. Taylor, whose daughter he married, brought him into close personal intercourse with this stimulating teacher. After becoming a minister, Dr. Porter wrote occasionally, in that early period, in behalf of the New Haven doctrines, and of the mitigated form of Calvinism which brought upon the New Haven divines so large an amount of odium. He continued to sympathize with this type of metaphysical and theological thought, and when it, or its honored defenders, were assailed, he stood ready to come forward in their defense. One of the obnoxious points in Dr. Taylor's system was his ethical theory.

*Theological
Opinions.
By Professor
George P.
Fisher.*

This theory was warmly espoused by Dr. Porter and was maintained long after he assumed the Chair of Philosophy at Yale. In later years, Dr. Porter modified this theory, or at least the phraseology in which it was expressed, giving it a form not so entirely at variance with the opposite, intuitive theory of morals. Although his own culture and his ways of thinking widened and took on new aspects with the advance of time, yet he kept up a certain sense of loyalty — which was made up in part of personal feeling — to the theological creed of his revered father-in-law. Yet there came to be really a very broad difference in the way in which religious truth and the philosophy of religion were apprehended by him. The signs and beginnings of what may be styled a broader view — certainly a very different view of things — appeared even when he was a young theological student. With a few of his fellow-students, he plunged into the study of the writings of Coleridge, which were introduced at that time to the American public by President Marsh of the University of Vermont. To a young man, brought up in a New England parsonage, and trained in the New England school of theology, there were opened altogether fresh fields of thought and speculation. He was confronted with new problems, and with solutions of problems which were novel and surprising. The result was a marvelous intellectual quickening. The effect of this early study of Coleridge was life-long in its duration. It was not so much in the way of moulding his opinions as of lending stimulus to his thoughts and direction to his reading. Then Dr. Porter's study in philosophy not

only made him familiar with Hamilton and the later phases of Scottish metaphysics, but also introduced him to a close acquaintance with the modern Continental schools, as well as with the masters in this department in past ages. His mind was remarkably versatile. He was ever curious to find out whatever light, or promise of light, might be afforded by new publications, come from where they might. If he was something of an eclectic, he was not this in any sense that implies a lack of virility.

He was keenly critical. No man was quicker to discern the weak points in the harness of a disputant. As a consequence of his intercourse with books and men, and of his own reasonings and reflections, he grew to be a widely tolerant thinker, not unwilling to bring into relations of friendship with himself men very diverse in their opinions and external affiliations. He could understand them, and could lend his sympathy up to a certain measure to Catholic and Protestant, mystic and rationalist. Yet the home of his heart continued to be in the old New England Congregationalism in which he was nurtured, but from which, as far as he himself was concerned, he had eliminated everything that was narrow and forbidding.

As a polemic, Dr. Porter was energetic and adroit, and sometimes, it might be thought, unsparing. He would make no terms with the representatives of positivist, materialistic or agnostic philosophy. He wrote many pages and preached not a few discourses in opposition to the popular expounders of tenets of this class. In

referring to them and in reviewing their writings, he fell instinctively into a sharply antagonistic tone and into a strain of argumentation which seemed to some to betoken a preconceived purpose to give no quarter. It was to topics relating to the foundations of religious faith that Dr. Porter in the latter decades of his life turned with most satisfaction. He wrote much in vindication of the principles of Theism. But his faith in the essential truths of Christian revelation, and his appreciation of their importance, were not in the least diminished.

Through all his life, Dr. Porter was hospitable to new ideas. He never drew down the curtains to shut out the incoming of new light. He never became petrified in his thinking, as is the case with too many from the effect of advancing years. To the last he showed no sign of mental indolence. He turned his thoughts in the same active, versatile fashion to subjects of interest and importance. He had at command in public and in private conversation the same vigor in speech and the same store of apt and racy epithets in characterizing persons and things. Were it my object to depict the intellectual and moral traits of President Porter or to describe his social qualities, which in some respects were remarkably engaging, I should have much more to say. But all this will be fitly done by others. He was certainly a very able man, and he was possessed of winning qualities which were fitted to draw to him general esteem.

The Theological Seminary had in the year 1858 reached a condition of almost total collapse. Those men who had formerly made the New Haven School of Theology at once famous and formidable had passed away, almost within the same year. The school itself had for a long time been slowly decaying. Its funds were scanty. Public interest in that entire range of subjects about which dispute was once high had died out. The professors had for some years been personally infirm, and the number of students had dropped almost to zero. At this point of lowest water, a turn in the tide was given by a vote of the corporation, appointing Mr. Timothy Dwight to be Assistant Professor of Sacred Literature, and Professor Noah Porter to take Dr. Taylor's place in teaching Systematic Theology. This appointment Dr. Porter declined, in so far that he did not give up the position he was then holding in the academical department; but accepted in so far as to undertake the task of giving instruction in doctrinal theology until other supply for the chair should be obtained. This period lasted from 1858 to 1866, and Professor Porter during this time did duty in both departments.

These lectures in theology were given for a while in his own private room, the number of students being so small as to make this possible and convenient. Afterward a room in the southwest corner on the ground floor of Old Divinity College was set apart for these, and, I believe, for all the other exercises which the seminary then had to offer. This building was the northernmost

*As a
Theological
Teacher.
By Rev.
Edward A.
Smith.*

member of the old brick row, and was taken away about twenty-five years ago.

The theological lectures which Dr. Porter thus delivered added possibly little to his general reputation, especially as they were given in the presence of small companies of students; but the work done by him in this department was as truly noteworthy and characteristic as that done in any other field of his public activity.

One of the striking features of these lectures was an occasional display of the extraordinary acuteness of mind of which Dr. Porter was possessed. Sometimes, in answer to an imaginary objector, or sometimes in reply to a question from his class, he would step aside from the ordinary routine of his lecture, and execute before their eyes a beautiful piece of philosophic dissection. Certain clear definitions were swiftly drawn, and sharp distinction made, until the nerves and fibers of the subject lay separate and open for the leisurely inspection of the class. By reason also of this quality of mind, he was able, better than almost any one else, to recognize the tangle into which the thoughts of a pupil had chanced to fall, with deft fingers to undo the knot, and set the thought at liberty. His excellence in this part of an instructor's work was eminent.

Some of his pupils of those days could testify also to an inspiration into which he would occasionally rise; a kind of calm, beautiful enthusiasm for truth, into some new view of which he had, in discourse with others, suddenly found himself carried. His fancy then awoke; his vision widened to take in great continental lines of

thought; his mind formed new combinations of truth, and words of felicitous glowing statement then fell from his lips. There are those who would say that the powers of Dr. Porter's mind seemed to them to have had fullest exhibition in these smaller conferences, where the formality of the large lecture room was wanting, and his mind lay open to that kind of stimulating contact with other minds which could best awaken the genius within him.

Closely akin to this was the remarkable suggestiveness which characterized his teaching. Some of those who once formed a group of pupils around him, can recall at this day certain significant seed-like statements, which, falling into the mind of a listener, have borne fruit in all his subsequent thinking. It was perhaps some general principle, casually stated by him, which yet found lodgement in the memory, and has been found capable of fresh application in manifold ways ever since. There are doubtless many whose entire subsequent life of thought, whose attitude toward the various religious and philosophical questions of these later days, would be found of the same nature as that which they had learned to assume during the days of their intercourse with him. Possibly few of his individual sayings may have remained in their memories, but the habits of thinking and the general carriage of mind to which he helped them were such as they find themselves maintaining in the formation of their opinions now.

That attitude of mind was eminently that which may be called a modern one. While Dr. Porter's own relig-

ious opinions were to a large degree conservative, and in no important way divergent from those generally held by Christian men of that time, his whole bearing, as he approached religious truth, was that of the latter quarter of this century, and was marked with what may be called, in the true sense, the inductive or scientific spirit; it being remembered that the scientific spirit, really such, is one which takes all facts spiritual as well as earthly into its cognizance.

That way of thinking was marked, moreover, by a certain intellectual modesty or reserve in the handling of sacred things which stood in contrast to the assumption of positive and exact knowledge with which the earlier generation had felt able to speak regarding them. Dr. Porter's pupils were not told, in so many words, that older methods were set aside, but there was none the less a change in the atmosphere. The definite arrangement of events attending the second coming of the Lord, the relative position of the last judgment in relation to it, the older chart-making in eschatological regions, had no place with him. His pupils learned to tolerate the vast, unexplored spaces of darkness with which things eternal are begirt. They learned a certain reticence of speech and thought regarding the inner nature of the Godhead, the atonement, and the mysteries of the divine life embodied in human life, which reticence was not of the earlier day, but of this. While there were some who expected Dr. Porter to assume the mantle and renew the battles which that noble old warrior, Dr. Taylor, had relinquished; while some looked for the reiteration of

the distinctive New Haven doctrines and almost the repetition of Dr. Taylor's very lectures, Dr. Porter became, without any announcement of changed methods, a prophet of another day. He had breathed the air of to-morrow, and none who listened to him with intelligent sympathy failed to see a different quality of light falling on objects around, or to acquire a different way of walking among them.

We hardly knew at the time, but can understand better now, how long the step was, from the older, more dogmatic attitude of former days, to the humbler reserve and the patient possessing of the soul in the presence of the great things of God, toward which our intercourse with this broad-minded, reverent seeker after truth was always leading us.

This portion of Dr. Porter's career in which he held the place of theological teacher may be less widely known, but the effects of it may be considered to have been as characteristic of him, as important and far-reaching, as any part of his most valuable public life.

Heartily concurring in this estimate of Mr. Smith's, I add some recollections of my own. I was in the Junior class in the Seminary in 1865-6. Dr. Porter's lectures belonged properly to the Middle year, but they were attended also by the Juniors. The two classes mustered scarcely a dozen. He was a most interesting and inspiring teacher. He awoke our minds, opened

Reminiscences of the Lecture-Room.
By the
Editor.

new and large fields of thought, drew out from us our own impressions and questionings, understood, sympathized, suggested, and never coerced. He won us to the general line of his own convictions, but yet more strongly he drew us to think for ourselves. The subjects he laid open became so interesting that we could not help but push on, whether we took his path or another. It was inevitable that one should think, and important that one should think rightly — but no atmosphere of terror forbade in any direction our free inquiry.

He made some use of notes, but his habitual address to us was speaking rather than reading. He spoke with ease, fluency, and animation. It was under these conditions, I think, that he expressed himself most effectively and felicitously. As a pulpit or platform speaker, he suffered from some want of fire, some deficiency of dynamic force. He was interesting, but he was rarely eloquent. Oratory demands passion, and passion had small place in his temperament. A similar defect is felt in his writings. But in a conversation he was admirable, and in these lectures, to a little group of sympathetic listeners, his almost conversational tone — with its basis of genuineness, spontaneity, and mutuality — rose with the inspiration of the theme to a higher key and wider range, and met perfectly the needs of the occasion.

Having finished his exposition for the day, he would say, "Now have you any questions or remarks?" And there would follow a many-sided dialogue, often the richest part of the lecture. He then seemed less an

instructor than a fellow-learner. He would catch the pupil's half-articulate thought, give it full expression, answer the difficulty if he could, or leave it unanswered, with some pregnant suggestion or side-thought. His method was quite different from that of another eminent theological professor, who dealt with his students like a fencing-master with his pupils, — flashing his steel against theirs, training them in combat, but never letting himself be beaten. That was by no means Dr. Porter's way.

In his writings he was often polemical, but in these lectures there was little of polemic. The controversy between New School and Old, in which Dr. Taylor had been a champion, still lingered on the stage; New Haven and Princeton still battled, but somewhat drowsily, and for Dr. Porter it was a by-gone issue. The more fundamental controversy as to miracles had not reached its height, and Spencer's philosophy had not become the conspicuous antagonist against which Dr. Porter placed himself in later years. The most interesting recent event to American theologians was the appearance of Horace Bushnell's *The Vicarious Sacrifice*, — full of deep thought and noble spirituality, and hardly less than an epoch-making book. Dr. Porter gave large attention to it. He encouraged us to read it, and brought us within the influence of its lofty and persuasive spirit, while he argued against its main theory as inadequate. For the time at least he held us from going over to Dr. Bushnell's view. But when he passed on to offer a positive theory of the Atonement, he was less satisfying.

At the vital point — just what *does* the Atonement signify? — he used the phrase, “Here the argument labors” — and from that labor he showed us no very clear outcome. There was perhaps truth in the comment, sometimes made, that he was stronger in criticism than in construction.

Dr. Porter dealt at such length with the subject of the Atonement, that the close of the year drew on and only the very briefest time remained for the whole subject of Eschatology — “the last things,” the millenium, the judgment, the final awards. Perhaps he was not unwilling to dwell lightly on those mysteries of the future in which the older generation of divines found their chief concern. His treatment of them followed the usual Orthodox lines. I engaged him in a private conversation on a subject which pressed upon my own mind, — that of endless punishment as the penalty of earthly sin. Among other things I put a series of individual cases: “Suppose a man born so and so, circumstanced so and so, acting thus and thus, — how can it be just that he should be subjected to everlasting punishment?” As to each case I was promptly met: “Such a man would doubtless not incur the penalty.” In short, he maintained that there was everlasting punishment, while he allowed exemption so wide that practically almost every one would escape! It suggests to me now his own system of college discipline — a rigid code with a very mild enforcement.

The main stress of his thought was always thrown on the large and fruitful aspects of his theme. And if at any point his intellectual lines cramped his heart he was

not afraid to step over them. There was in our class a student whose only ability displayed itself in a certain clumsy skill in making logic-traps. He once pushed Dr. Porter with a Socratic series of questions:—"Belief in Christ is necessary to salvation? Certainly, for any to whom knowledge of Christ has been given?" and so on, and finally, "How are we to regard the spiritual prospects of a man like Ralph Waldo Emerson?" The logic of the implication was as strong as the conclusion was ugly. Dr. Porter did not hesitate. "The Scripture tells us," he said, "that in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him. I suppose that holds good even in Concord, Massachusetts!" The twinkle that lit up his face was answered by a laugh from the whole class—and the session ended.

He was nominally a teacher of "systematic theology," but that phrase is not appropriate to his characteristic teaching. He did not impart a complete and symmetrical set of opinions on the supreme themes. He wakened an interest in those themes, gave freely his own best perceptions, and started the hearer on his own way. To some it might appear that he did not always carry his logic to its fair conclusions, from a latent apprehension of weakening the moral foundations. "I think," writes one of his pupils, "he held the more tenaciously to certain doctrinal and authoritative elements, because there was not included in his rich and many-sided intellect that fervid and daring temper which prompts the human spirit to trust its own wings with no support save the all-embracing ether." But certainly his teaching went

to make truth-loving, thoughtful and fearless men, for there blended in him the spirit of love and the spirit of truth. He exercised on his pupils that emancipating power which belongs to the active and eager intellect, exercising itself in a world which yields infinite gratification to its quest, and beckons it constantly to ampler research. One of the sayings preserved of Dr. Taylor was, "Go with the truth, if it takes you over Niagara!" In a less impassioned tone, but with a noble serenity, Dr. Porter steadily influenced his pupils to seek fearlessly and earnestly the realities of the soul. His lecture-room might well have been inscribed: "The truth shall make you free."

The sum total of Dr. Porter's literary production, so far as it can now be gathered, is shown in the Bibliography at the end of this volume. As the fruit of a life which was full of other activities, it is amazing, One is reminded of old Cotton Mather and his myriad literary progeny. No attempt will here be made to criticise and scarcely even to characterize the mass of these writings. They speak for themselves. So far as they deal with philosophy and theology, their trend and spirit has been sufficiently indicated. Next perhaps to these themes in prominence is general literary criticism, and obituaries; — the latter forming a most interesting portrait-gallery of eminent men of his generation, especially of notabilities in Yale College and in New England Congregationalism. Some of his productions, while not

likely to attract wide public notice, opened deep mines of learning. Such was his contribution to Ueberweg's *History of Philosophy*—a brief sketch of philosophy in Great Britain and America, which condenses great erudition into a compact and available form. But one literary labor deserves especial mention, lying as it does in a field apart from most of his characteristic activities—the editing of Webster's Dictionary.

When Dr. Webster's original work was first pruned and amended in the edition of 1847, Dr. Porter contributed to the Appendix a table of Scriptural proper names. When later a thorough and radical revision was undertaken, he at first gave various incidental helps. He rendered a very important service when in Berlin, through the acquaintance he acquired with German philologists, by engaging Dr. C. A. F. Mahn to furnish an entirely new set of etymologies for the entire vocabulary,—thus securing great excellence for the new book at the point where Noah Webster had been weakest. The general supervision of the editing had been taken by Professor Chauncey A. Goodrich, with a corps of assistants which included Professors William D. Whitney and Daniel C. Gilman. While the work was still in an early stage, the death of Professor Goodrich left it without a head. Professor Goodrich had already received valuable assistance from Dr. Porter in his admirable table of synonyms; and had earnestly solicited him, as familiar with the history and the principles of the entire work, to take the main charge of it. This he had declined to do, but now the request was pressed upon him by the publishers, who

were his personal friends, and by the family of Dr. Webster. The publishers wrote: "It needs a head—a guiding, deciding man—one understood to be a sort of umpire, who will give unity to the whole and proportion to the structure. It wants, for this, something beyond what you have encouraged us to hope you could give it—a constant supervision of the whole. To do this would involve the necessity of giving probably all the time you could devote to mental occupation beyond the appropriate duties of your own single professorship—perhaps two or three hours per day;—the proper care of your health and the duties of your own chair being in addition to this all you could wisely do, and precluding the use of your pen and tongue in other ways, or very nearly so. We should like to make you a pecuniary proposition of this sort, if you will entertain it on such a basis, to cover say two years. All the other gentlemen engaged, we think we may say, earnestly desire this."

With great diffidence and reluctance,—“as being foreign to his special studies, and incompatible with very pressing occupations”—the service was at last undertaken. He proved admirably competent for it. It grew immensely upon his hands. The work of making a great dictionary is vast. It was essentially a new book that was built upon Noah Webster’s foundation, though incorporating much of the old structure. Dr. Porter’s share soon grew beyond the limits originally marked out. He was too valuable to be used sparingly. His fund of general information, his intelligence as to the sources of knowledge, his wise judgment of the fitness of men for

various branches of the work, his mental acuteness trained by metaphysics and serviceable for the niceties of language, his swiftness in decision—and, not least, his equal appreciation of literary and business conditions, qualifying him to mediate between the publisher's necessities of time and space and the scholar's fastidiousness and slowness of execution,—these qualities brought him into constant requisition. In addition to the general supervision at first proposed, the copy of the entire book passed under his critical eye, page by page and line by line. Then again all the proof of its many hundred pages was read by him. Instead of two years, the time stretched to nearly four, for the book was not ready for publication until 1864. When it appeared, it was accepted by the literary and general public as a great work of scholarship, and renewed and confirmed the authority which had attached to the name of Webster.

Dr. Porter's connection with the book did not end here. He remained till the end of his life the official and salaried editor of Webster's Dictionary. To him were referred the points of special amendment and general revision which were constantly arising. For the successive supplements to the book, his advice and aid were largely used. When in 1880 another radical revision was undertaken—which after ten years of preparation appeared as the “International Webster”—he held a place of supervision very much like that at first suggested for the earlier work. The principles of revision and construction had in that period been so thoroughly

worked out under his guidance, that they could be applied to the new work. The number of office workers was now much larger, the systematization of labor more perfect, and the close personal oversight he had given before was no longer needed. But he drew the general lines, infused his large wisdom into the conduct of the enterprise, and was umpire upon delicate points of detail. His relation to the dictionary was never a perfunctory one, but even when not directly engaged upon it his mind habitually turned to it with lively interest.

The publishers' suggestion, that he should confine himself to one professorship and refrain from outside occupation, was quite wasted. Two professorships, a dictionary, and abundant incidentals — that was the program as it worked itself out for four years. And they were the tremendous years of the Civil War, in whose anxieties and excitements he took his share, with all the earnest and thoughtful men of the country. Yale College gave freely of her sons, and her chiefs were all of one mind and heart.

Four years after the dictionary, in 1868, appeared *The Human Intellect*, the chief literary production of his life.

The Bibliography shows how as the years advanced he grew even more deeply engaged in the warfare for the defense of the faith. His reviews, essays, books, show him more and more a champion in the lists. But from first to last his personal relations with those he thus combated or criticised were characteristic of the man.

In 1844 appeared a book by Theodore Parker, *A Discourse of Matters Pertaining to Religion*. It widened the growing breach between him and conservatives even of the Unitarian name, and thereafter his hand was against every man and every man's against him. The *New Englander* gave a review of the book, anonymous as was then its fashion, controverting much in Parker's position, but so generous and appreciative that Parker wrote to the editor, sending his hearty thanks to his unknown critic. This critic was Dr. Porter, who replied to the letter, and there grew up a correspondence and a cordial friendship. Porter, applying to Parker a quotation from Sidney Smith, had written that he "might as well wear a turban as a hat." Not long after Porter went to visit the heresiarch in his Roxbury home, and on his arrival was sent to find him in his orchard. Parker turned from his pruning to greet his expected guest, and, uncovering as he held out his hand, said, "You see, Mr. Porter, I do wear a hat after all!"

Many letters passed between them. Sometimes they wrote of books that one had and the other wanted to see; sometimes of lectures one or the other was giving; and sometimes they discussed theology, though seldom at length. Parker's letters show no anxiety to win his correspondent to his views. In Porter's there is apparent—though shown rarely and not obtrusively—an affectionate solicitude that his friend might come to share his sentiment toward Christ. In Dr. Porter's library is a copy of a later edition of the *Discourse*, and bound in with its pages a letter from the author, recall-

ing the "kind and genial critique" which had led to their acquaintance. Parker's last letter — July 15, 1859, — is feebly written in pencil. He writes: "It is not likely I shall see you again for a long time, if indeed I ever do. I lie on my bed all day, expectant of what shall come, but intending as soon as able to sail off for the West Indies, tho' I think it is the other *Insulæ Beatæ* which I am bound for. But whichever it may be, I do not like to leave New England without a word to you. . . . It gives me great pleasure to notice the uniform respect and veneration in which your students hold you, and to hear them speak of the quickening impulse which you give them toward a high, free and noble life. Colleges are dull places at the best, and the professors sometimes become as dead as any tooth in the brass wheels of the public clock, and like that only keep the college to *mean* time. It does my heart good to learn that you keep a live soul in the dull routine of a college, and not only instruct but also inspire your scholars. But I must not write more, save to thank you again for the unusual fairness of your treatment of me. Remember me kindly to your wife — I wish her health were better. And think as charitably as you can of yours thankfully and sincerely, Theodore Parker."

Whenever in his literary criticism Dr. Porter refers to George Eliot, his admiration for her genius and protest against her agnostic views are touched with a special note as of personal sympathy and regard. The key is given in an anecdote of his first visit to Europe, told in an article in the *Christian Union*, at the time of her

death. He relates that in 1853 he passed several days in the London lodging-house where Miss Marian Evans was living. "She was spoken of as perhaps the most learned and cultured lady in the kingdom, and was then acting as principal critic and editor of the *Westminster Review*. She was known at that time as the laborious translator of Strauss's *Life of Christ* published seven years before. At that time she was thirty-three years old, with plain but interesting features, of a little above medium size, of a very quiet and almost timid bearing, most noticeable for her singularly refined voice, her clear thoughts, her choice yet by no means stilted diction, and above all for her fervid yet unaffected sensibility. She was free and affable with the family and guests, but unmistakably wore the air of a person preoccupied with many engagements, and living apart in her own world of elevated thoughts and intense feeling. The writer remembers once being greatly moved at seeing her, after having come late to the breakfast table and being left almost alone, give way to a mood of abstraction during which the tears flowed in streams over her strong yet gentle face. It was delightful to hear her converse, and yet I recall little or nothing of a long conversation with her as once we sat opposite one another at the table and were left to ourselves. These are all the recollections the writer has of this gifted woman."

Among his *New Englander* reviews in 1859 is one of *Thorndale*. The book charmed him not only by its intellectual beauty but by the passion for truth which

marks it, while its dissent from supernatural Christianity, and the lack of absolute assurance in its theistic tendency, could not fail to draw from him a warm vindication of his own positive faith. The author—the most modest and retiring of men—wrote to his critic, far more gratified by his sympathy than chilled by his dissent. A friendly correspondence was maintained at intervals for many years, and when William Smith died his widow continued to exchange letters with Dr. Porter. It was perhaps owing more to him than to any one else—to him, and her desire to portray for those like him the friend they had never seen—that she wrote and finally published the *Memoir* of her husband. And it was through his introduction of her to another unseen American friend that the acquaintance began which led to the writing of *The Story of William and Lucy Smith*.

If anything could call out the full vigor of Dr. Porter's polemic, it was such utterances as Professor Tyndall was wont to give on theological subjects. In response to such a criticism of his, Tyndall wrote (February 16, 1878): "Your article from the *New Englander* reached me duly, and was read, marked, learned, and inwardly digested by me. It is, as it could not fail to be, the production of a gentleman—very different in this respect from other utterances directed to a similar end nearer home. It is severe—but its severity does not lessen the respect—or if you will allow me to say it, the affection I have felt for you ever since I had the pleasure of meeting you at Yale."

The polemic and eirenic elements were mixed in him

in a curious yet quite intelligible way. Intellectually he was apt to be at his best under the stimulus of a challenge—a question or perhaps a contradiction. This was often noticed, and was illustrated in the Club of which he was a member, where gentlemen of the college and the city used to meet for friendly discussion. When Dr. Leonard Bacon—a natural debater and a leader of men, whose powers were cramped in the pulpit and would have shown to advantage on the floor of the Senate—would traverse the easy-flowing current of talk with a sharp assertion or question, Dr. Porter would rouse into a different man, and become on the instant a strong and dexterous champion.

But, while he often used the methods of the critic and controversialist in the pursuit of truth, he was by temper averse to personal hostilities, and he abhorred the waste of energy and sacrifice of results involved in needless war of any sort. He especially disliked what may be called family quarrels,—feuds dividing the community or church or state. He has told how in his New Milford pastorate he aimed successfully to prevent the slavery issue from dividing the church into adverse factions. In his early politics he was an anti-slavery Whig, but when the Republican party arose he gave it his vote and support, and, while rarely taking active part in politics, remained a Republican in his sympathies to the last. The same temper which held him back not only from the abolitionists but from the free-soilers kept him away from the mugwumps. Aggressive revolt was not his element.

He was a true American in his aversion to fighting unless for an ample reason — and equally an American in his readiness to fight to the end when he saw a good reason. And thus he took active part in some great public controversies. Among his latest writings were two papers called out by the refusal of the Prudential Committee of the American Board to send out as missionaries young men who did not meet certain doctrinal tests in a manner satisfactory to the committee. These papers — on the cases of Mr. Hume and Mr. Noyes — are models of broad, calm and persuasive presentation. They are based on principles deeper than the special points of theology involved in the controversy. “We New Englanders rejoice in our religious enterprise and our practical zeal, and glory in their results as achieved at home and abroad, but we should never forget that the courage and enterprise which have been shown in all the forms of practical and theological thinking have had quite as much to do with these results as the money which we have expended and the lives which we have sacrificed in the missionary field.” It is no exaggeration to say that the argument and the spirit of these papers are irresistible — for that their view is sure to prevail at no distant time is the safest of prophecies.

The substantial question in this case is whether the same liberty of opinion shall be allowed to the foreign missionaries as to the home ministers of the Congregational body. The earlier question was as to what liberty of opinion the home minister might exercise, as

to the possibilities of the hereafter. At the turning-point of that question, it was Dr. Porter who gave the decisive leadership. On the Sunday after his death, Dr. Munger told the story to his New Haven congregation :

“It is due to him and to his powerful advocacy that I stand in this pulpit to-day — an advocacy not based on personal and friendly considerations, though he was prompt enough to respond to such motives, but on principles that underlie and cover all ecclesiastical procedure and all theological judgments, namely, toleration, breadth, and personal faith and character as outweighing dogmatic belief. Twice has he stood to me in this peculiar relation of defending through me the new order of thought and the broader and more discriminating tolerance that are now seeking for expression. The North Adams council, which installed me in 1877, followed immediately the Indian Orchard council, whose decision threw the Congregational churches into a ferment which has hardly yet wholly ceased, a decision that refused ordination to a young minister on the score of his unwillingness to pronounce dogmatically on the fate of the heathen who had never heard of the gospel.¹ The

¹The precise ground on which the council refused to instal the pastor called by the Indian Orchard church (who had previously been the minister of the Farmington church over which Dr. Porter's father was so long settled) was this : that under examination he avowed his disbelief in an eternity of conscious misery for any soul. To the Indian Orchard council Dr. Porter was invited, but he was not present. He was apt to deprecate the raising of such issues, and to avoid participation if possible. But whenever a conflict became unavoidable he “enlisted for the war.” The same degree of Congregational liberty which was vindicated in Dr. Munger's case at North Adams was asserted with equal

decision at North Adams reversed this decision and asserted a still broader tolerance on the subject, and served, so far as decisions of councils can, to establish a precedent that has gradually come to prevail. Small credit was due to the candidate who had only personal fortunes at stake, but immense credit is due to President Porter, whose influence carried the council and made its action nearly unanimous; and not only credit for rendering a great service to the Congregational churches of New England, but praise for taking a stand which exposed him to criticism as the head of a university — criticism which he did not escape. The same thing was repeated at the installation here in 1885, when a virulent opposition growing out of the same questions was met and quelled by the same powerful voice, and with a certain lofty chivalry of which the man was largely capable. When it was urged that the installation of the candidate by a council of which the president of the University was the moderator would be injurious to the institution, he replied: "If it be a question between the welfare of the college and the performance of duty, let the duty be done and let the college suffer." Again his influence went out through this council, tending to enlarge the bonds of our Congregational liberty, and to secure that toleration which has come so slowly into the American churches.

"While I feel a depth of gratitude to him that I cannot express, it is overborne by my admiration for his

emphasis the next year at the settlement of Dr. James M. Whiton at Newark, N. J. ; and of this later council also Dr. Porter was Moderator.
— EDITOR.

courage — displayed in the highest form in which it is called into exercise at the present day — namely, the courage of the head of a great university in standing by his convictions when his interests pointed in another direction.”

A year or two before his election to the presidency, Dr. Porter wrote for the *New Englander* four articles which were republished in a volume as *The American Colleges and the American Public*. In this he laid down the principles of collegiate education as he held them. It was a vigorous assertion of the conservative position, as against the radical changes which were in the air as possible and perhaps desirable. The book, followed as it was by the choice of Dr. Porter to the presidency, set Yale as the avowed champion of conservatism, just as Harvard under President Eliot was becoming the champion of the progressive party. Dr. Porter drew as his main lines the maintenance of Greek and Latin as the basis of a liberal education; the relegation of education centering in natural science to special schools; a fixed curriculum with very few optionals; enforced attendance on all college exercises; the marking system; a kind of paternal attitude of the faculty toward the students; and the essentially religious character of the college. Improvement in detail he welcomed. He heartily favored the teaching of the classics in a more literary spirit, and more attention to French and German. But for the traditional system in its essentials, he spoke out in ringing tones. Energetic against the so-called

reformers, sarcastic toward "the New Education," he was fairly scornful when he faced the self-constituted judges of the academic Olympus,—the popular newspapers, the penny-a-liners, the "practical" men who set themselves up to controvert the wisdom of the ages. Toward "The Public" that was criticising "The Colleges," he used not an atom of the deference to which Demos is accustomed. Judge indeed! Demos found himself well-nigh arraigned as a culprit. Not for such as he would Yale swerve from the good old ways that the fathers trod!

The spirit of innovation was abroad, and "young Yale" was beginning to assert itself against the oldsters. Such a bugle-note of defiance might have shaken the popularity of any other professor with the younger graduates, even though the authorities had stood by him. But for many years Dr. Porter had held a place in the hearts of all Yale men whence he could not be dislodged by any differences of opinion. As it became apparent that Woolsey must soon have a successor, the general feeling was well voiced by some verses at a local alumni gathering. Cordial praise is given to the "faithful, genial-witted Dwight," to "stout, heroic Thacher," and to "the admirable Hadley."

"Long may the three wear Honor's bays,
And never need to court her,
We'll give them three times three of praise,
And give our votes to Porter!

"The gentle soul, the robust brain,
The mien that never varies,

Grand Porter of the master train
Towers *primus inter pares*.

“Nor aught shall dark the starry mark
Of Woolsey’s ruling spirit,
Or swerve our academic Ark
When Noah’s hand shall steer it !”

It was thus he entered upon the presidency in 1871, at the age of sixty — strong in the affection of graduates and students, possessing the full confidence and approval of the Corporation, richly equipped by learning and experience ; — but, having spent more than the strength of an ordinary lifetime, versed in scholarly and social rather than in administrative service, and having to encounter a spirit of innovation to which his convictions were opposed, and which was to strengthen with every year. How did he meet the ordeal? Let President Carter tell that story.

It is becoming more and more the custom to estimate the standing of a college by the number of its professors and students, and its resources in money and books and cabinets and buildings. These are indeed necessary, and in the modern competition it is certain that they command talent, and are a large element in the prosperity of any institution of learning. But at the time of President Porter’s inauguration the productive funds of the academical department of Yale College (excluding funds afterwards treated as university funds and moneys already given for special buildings not yet erected)

*President of
Yale. By
President
Franklin
Carter.*

did not amount to \$700,000, and the total capital (exclusive of unproductive real estate) belonging to all departments combined did not exceed \$1,250,000. The number of students registered in the catalogue of 1870-71 was in the academical department five hundred and twenty-two, and in the whole college seven hundred and fifty-five. In comparison with the great resources of certain institutions, and one or two of them not very old, Yale College was meagrely endowed. Several had longer lists of students. But no institution in the country could exhibit during President Woolsey's administration, in all that a true college or university stands for, larger results than this college. Among the sixty-five professors and teachers on the catalogue the last year of his presidency, were men known wherever learning is honored for their accomplishments and discoveries. Among her students high ideals in scholarship and letters were pursued. By her graduates great services in political and professional life and in large business enterprises were performed for men. Her sons from nearly every Northern state fought with bravery and distinction for the preservation of the Union, and many scarcely less distinguished were in the Southern armies. She moved on from year to year not with pomp or show of brilliancy, but with a calmness and beneficence in which her most intelligent friends rejoiced greatly.

There were those who clamored for more parade. Alumni assembled with loyalty to the old home listened sometimes to cries for more display and style, or for

more variety of instruction and a more "cosmic philosophy." While to some graduates of Yale it seemed a waste that members of foreign societies were employed in teaching Freshmen, others did not seem to be aware that any of her professors were members of foreign societies. Her professors were "too modest," or "too narrow-minded," or "too young," or "too conservative." Her trustees were Connecticut ministers, whose vitality was exhausted by keeping a few sheep in the wilderness, or Connecticut senators, whose services to their constituents were hardly to be compared with Burke's. There was no Longfellow, no Lowell, in her faculty. It was hardly appreciated by the grumblers that there was a Porter, a Dana, a Hadley, and a Whitney on her roll of teachers. Because of this commotion, and because the aspirations of Yale's best friends were not gratified by that rapid increase of funds which the high standing of the college made necessary if that relative standing was to be maintained, some thought when Dr. Porter was inaugurated that the college was passing through an acute crisis, and that it had already lost and might still further lose public esteem. Undoubtedly some of the discussion common in the immediately preceding years tended to produce a crisis, but the currents of inherited and accumulating power, the influences that self-denying presidents and professors had initiated, were to the eye of faith resources of incalculable promise.

Endowed largely with this faith, President Porter began his work as administrator in 1871, and his fifteen years of guidance were years of steady advancement.

They were years of transition and of much perplexity ; years in which materialism and agnosticism in our country put on here and there a bold front and challenged everything traditional ; but they were years of constantly increasing prosperity and expansion for Yale College. It has been thought by some that if President Porter had conducted the affairs of the college during Dr. Woolsey's period of office, and Dr. Woolsey had met the more trying questions, the issue would have been still better. This may be doubted. If Dr. Woolsey was more positive and sharp in dealing with refractory individuals, he was not more aggressive in his hostility to the anti-Christian theories. If Dr. Porter met individuals with gentleness, his public utterances gave no uncertain sound, and his criticisms of the philosophical positions of Spencer, Tyndall and others were recognized by all as incisive and effective. Yale College did service for all Christian schools of learning in our country through these discussions by President Porter, for which gratitude may well be cherished. The more pronounced Christian attitude of some of these schools is the direct result of his unflinching loyalty to truth and his acute discrimination as expressed in these papers.

This work was done when small duties were increasing in number for him with each new movement. The increase in small duties and the multiplication of details that marked his presidency, no president who preceded him could have met with anything like the same patience and success. When I first entered the Yale faculty in 1873 and began to attend the weekly meetings of the

academical teachers, I was impressed with the grasp which President Porter had upon the details of the college activities. I had small conception then of the multitude of cares that pressed on him, but the clearness with which the relations and facts of the college life were present in his mind was a constant surprise to me. The complexities of the greater college after my life in a simpler institution were a little bewildering, perhaps, but it was plain to me that the man at the head understood perfectly the *minutiæ* of the system. He had, it is true, been professor of philosophy in the academical department of the college twenty-five years before he became president. When I took my seat in the faculty-room in 1873 he had already had two years of experience as president. He had been active during his professorship in increasing in every way the good influence and the fame of Yale. He had preached in many Congregational churches in Connecticut, and had always, if I may say so, carried the college with him. He had studied the questions relating to the New England (and that is the American) college, with great thoroughness, as is plainly shown in the papers published in the *New Englander* in 1869. I knew all this well, and yet I was not prepared for the knowledge which he had of relations and details.

It was not long before I discovered that, great as was his mastery of the machinery of the college, it was accompanied by a deep personal interest in all who were connected with this machinery either as professors or students. Naturally the students, as the body brought

together for the purposes of training, were the first element in his thought. But it was not that he looked at them as a great whole to be disciplined and improved, but he seemed to carry individuals in his mind and to act upon the principle that the progress attained must be progress by individuals. Every professor was estimated of value to the college more distinctly as he contributed to this result; and this result was to be sought in the largest way, not merely with reference to the performance of intellectual tasks, but also with the evident aim of development in moral character. Personal influence by teachers on the undergraduate was in his mind of the first importance. He saw the tendency in the professors of the modern college, as it grows large, to limit their efforts for their pupils to the class-room, and he wholly deprecated it. The concentration of the specialist on the problems of his narrow sphere seemed to him to threaten danger to the full moral enlargement of the students. His loyalty to Christ as a divine Master re-enforced by all its movement this interest in personal growth, and he clung with invincible tenacity to what seemed to him likely to promote Christian character in his pupils.

There was something almost humorous in his interest in the sons and brothers of those who had been in college with or under him. To have had personal relations with a man seemed to President Porter to give to this man and his friends and relatives a permanent claim on his kindly regard. I sometimes thought this kindly feeling was the overmastering element in his nature. It made

it hard for him to say "No," and brought him occasionally into a place where two seas met. The exercise of authority as such was, I think, disagreeable to him. The exercise of kindness was his delight. His face, considered in its separate features plain, was nevertheless by reason of intelligence and kindness often beautiful, irradiated with "sweetness and light." The students felt the power of this goodness, and though he was at the head of a college whose discipline was just and impartial and severe, a college which by its general discipline and authority taught a large number of young men most thorough lessons in obedience, the students never identified him with anything that even seemed harsh. He was as a man the favorite and the ideal of the college. The bow made to the president by each of the seniors in accordance with the ancient custom of the college, as he passes down from the conduct of morning prayers through the central aisle of the chapel, was, on the part of many, expressive of genuine reverence for him.

The multitude of cares that came daily upon him never seemed to disturb his equanimity or to lessen his sweetness. Teaching nearly every day in the college year; sometimes lecturing to the entire Senior class and sometimes examining them on his own profound textbook, *The Human Intellect*; for many years pastor of the college church; carrying always in his mind the details of the academical department, and cherishing the interests of the whole University, he was liable at any moment to applications for advice or assistance from students or from any member of the various faculties.

These were the regular, the daily, the almost constant interruptions. But so complex an institution, composed of such various elements, was certain to develop at times serious frictions or even collisions, and to demand the concentration for adjustment of all his powers. It was perhaps too lofty an ambition that kept him loyal to the old idea that the president of the New England college should not merely look after the ongoing of all the parts of the whole, but that he should know and teach every student in the Senior year of the classical course, — should exhibit the highest attainment in scholarship, — should have a personal solicitude for every pupil, — and should always be ready for any interruption and exigency. That was once possible in Yale College. From the beginning of Dr. Porter's presidency it was becoming impossible, as the college was rapidly expanding; and the success which he had in the exercise of all these activities, when the thought and strength required for each had become so large, seems now, as I look back, even more surprising than his knowledge of the details of the history and movement of the great organism.

The social duties required of the president of a university were not the least element in the demands made upon Dr. Porter's time and thought. From the very beginning of his management he felt keenly and met fully all these obligations. The delicate health of Mrs. Porter might have excused in some measure his family from the claims which the highest ideal in this respect involves. It did not cause the slightest diminution in fidelity to these claims. Indeed one might think that

he and his accomplished daughters, fearing lest some one should imagine that the watch and care given to the invalid at home would lessen the attention given to others, went in public entertainment beyond what the ideal required. On the evening of his inauguration, he opened his house, one might say, to the entire city. Year after year three or four receptions were given to the combined Senior classes of the different departments, to each of which all the officers of the college and many of the townspeople were invited. Through these evenings Mrs. Porter sat receiving with loving friendliness all who came, and re-enforcing in a touching way the loyalty of her husband to his great trust. It takes but a moment of reflection to discern that such receptions to which many came without any social experience are not a pastime. During the latter part of his presidency two Freshman receptions were added to the requirement. It was a favorite thought of President Porter that if the Freshmen could be won to earnestness and manliness, the whole college would have a higher tone and ultimately be transformed. These receptions were a special contribution, small in results, to the attainment of this end, but they involved a self-denial and effort of no trifling significance on his part, and it should not be forgotten were added to a life already overburdened.

The coming of distinguished gentlemen to New Haven, an unending procession, meant for him and his family unceasing hospitality. Among the Englishmen whom they received and entertained, and dismissed with delightful remembrances of a New England home and

of the simplicity and high thinking of the college, were Dr. Payne Smith, the dean of Canterbury, Canon Farrar, Lord Coleridge, the historians Froude and Freeman, Matthew Arnold, Rev. Dr. Dale of Birmingham, Professor Calderwood of Edinburgh, and Professor Freemantle. Many others hardly less distinguished, and a host of the pupils whom he had taught while professor, came to him and, I will not say exacted, but accepted, his companionship and guidance in visiting the new buildings and acquisitions of the college. I remember distinctly once when in attendance on an examination in Alumni Hall seeing him escort the Brazilian emperor, Dom Pedro, around the room to inspect the portraits and his repeating the names of several of the men represented to the great interest of the visitor.

When President Hayes visited the college at Commencement in 1880, he was the guest of President Porter. At the dinner of the graduates, he revealed a secret which had been well kept, which the modesty of Dr. Porter would never have disclosed, viz.: that he had offered the position of minister to England to the beloved president of Yale. Mr. Hayes's graceful allusion to this episode in President Porter's life deserves preservation. He said: "There is another point to which I wish to allude, and yet it is not a point, for it has length and breadth and thickness. There is an old saying, 'you can lead a horse to water, but you cannot make him drink.' Knowing the desire of the American people that their representative to the nation to which we so largely trace our lineage should be a man reared up to

the full stature of a mental and moral manhood, and wishing to select the best type of American character, in that emergency again I turned to Yale and found just the man. I reversed the old adage in this case, for I brought the water to the horse, but President Porter would not drink. And he was altogether right in refusing to accept the position tendered to him."

Great enjoyment came to President Porter in this intercourse with distinguished visitors. But it cost time and thought and strength, and in any fair recognition of his career as president a good deal of emphasis should be laid upon his fidelity and success in the discharge of social duties. When this element of work is considered as an addition to the teaching, the management, the interruptions and necessary adjustments, the public addresses, the claims of a great constituency asking for his presence at various points, and the study issuing in an ever-enlarging scholarship, — we must not withhold even from this lesser labor large praise.

Undoubtedly an important element contributing to his success as an administrator in all these relations was the quality of kindness already mentioned. His genuine personal interest kept him in nearly every case from looking at the disagreeable side of the attrition, and concentrated his attention on the problem of securing to each applicant if possible the advantage sought. Whatever any officer thought was essential to his usefulness, Dr. Porter was anxious to provide. He saw the peculiarities of men, and, though often amused at them, recognized the necessity of making allowance for these

peculiarities. He met with quick response every good quality. He saw so much good in men and was so desirous that that good should have full scope, that it may safely be assumed that the constant demands on his time and assistance were met with much greater ease and exhausted him far less, than if his kindness and love for men had been a superficial thing. It was not superficial, but controlled and quickened the depths of his nature.

Another great help in meeting the avalanche of duties that weekly rolled in upon him was his profound interest in different branches of study. President Porter was a genuine New Englander and a good deal of a Puritan, but in no sense a narrow man. Culture had broadened and enriched his mind, and this culture while mostly on the human side was derived from thorough studies in various lines. His love for the ancient classics, his passion for New England history, were not less marked features of his scholarship than his mastery of philosophy and theology. No one that ever heard him talk, when his mind moved freely on any of these subjects, could help being impressed with the extent and accuracy of his knowledge. He had familiarity also with other modern literatures than English, and a profound interest in everything that affected the Church of Christ. He loved poetry and art, and was always enlarging his knowledge of their fields. From many branches of learning he had drawn such inspiration and power that each of them was an unfailing source of delight. A more arid nature, or a nature equally potential that had

not been opened out deeply in such a variety of directions, would have much more easily tired under the storm and stress of his life. But, alive to all movements on these different sides of scholarship, there came often from some direction a quickening influence, under which the wearisome annoyance of routine or complaint or conflict was completely forgotten, and he drank fresh draughts from the springs which he had learned to love and to visit in his youth.

Behind both his genial kindness and his varied scholarship there was a large original power of endurance. He had the tenacity of purpose and the power of resistance that belonged with the toughest fiber of New England stock. He was a good walker and climber, and younger and athletic men sometimes found, after his hair was gray and he began to look old, that if they were going to march with him they would have to inure themselves to the soldier's training. He could endure hardness. This power of endurance was of immense service in his official life. In cases where no friendliness to the appellants, however ardent, could alleviate the asperity of one, or the insistence of another, or in those long stretches of routine which enter into a college president's life, or in the anxious search for resources to meet the demands for the expanding organism, he was compelled to rest back on that solid granite of his nature which was usually hidden under his sweetness and culture. This enduring power, re-enforced and permeated by goodness and a genuine love of learning, carried him through what would easily have overwhelmed a less solid combination

of qualities. This combination took up just that percentage of oxygen that makes the steel impenetrable.

It would be a grave omission not to speak further of his faith as inspiring him with earnestness for his work and with cheerfulness and courage as to the issue. He was an optimist, if I ever knew one. He had a large trust in human nature, and confidence in the ultimate ascendancy of reason, in hours when reason was trampled on by bigotry or theological bitterness; a firm belief that if history teaches anything it teaches that truth is to have dominion. His optimism went so far as to lead him sometimes to believe that influences which to most seemed destructive were really conservative and helpful. It was not easy for him to conceive that any conditions with which he had to deal were, I will not say, wholly bad, but other than fairly good. In every crisis he saw signs for hope, and out of every disaster he expected good to come. It was often hard for others to see on what his confidence was resting, but after observation for a considerable period of time, the conviction came to the observer that such a faith was far wiser than apprehension or alarm. His trust in God was veiled by the serene friendliness of his daily walk. He met with disappointments. The very scope of his kindness and the fullness of his confidence in men prevented him sometimes from seeing the full force of an untoward tide, and led him now and then into positions where he was left very much alone to oppose an evil or remedy a wrong. It is pathetic to remember that this loneliness was occasionally the price he paid for trusting men. Loneliness

is so much more naturally the penalty for distrust that we may regard it coming to him as in a sense an imperishable honor. It is not probable that its origin made it any the less hard to bear. The rugged endurance with which nature endowed him, and his faith, then carried him on.

The intellectual productiveness of the man was constant. This volume contains a list of his published writings. He who wishes to know what President Porter did for the world, beyond all that he did for the college, during those fifteen years, should consult that list. At least a hundred and twenty separate productions, including ordinary newspaper articles; sermons historical, obituary, and commemorative; essays educational, philosophical and theological; reports; lectures; new books like the luminous discussion on Berkeley, or the volume on moral science; new editions of previous publications, not to omit one thoroughly revised edition of Webster's Dictionary, on which he may be said to have been always working when not called to something else; these various and thorough and thoroughly instructive writings were produced in hours snatched from the absorbing, incessant attention that the college required.

The fifteen baccalaureate sermons preached to the classes graduated during his presidency were afterwards published in a volume. They are perhaps the best expression of the harmony of President Porter's thought and life. They teach how his profound love of learning and his philosophical insight were blended in a supreme reverence for the divine Christ. They touch the thought

of the age in its most vital centers, and touch it only to quicken and clarify it with the Master's presence and power. The barrenness and desolation of negations; the immense value to the scholar of faith in Christ; the ineffable charm that Christian living adds to refined culture; the greater force of Christian character when expanded by education; the answers of the Master to the claims of the whole nature; — I do not know where these themes are set forth more persuasively than in the pages of this book. For the average student at the time of graduation the sermons seemed to savor of philosophical discussion. But many a thoughtful graduate has learned a few years later to find in these sermons his true idea of his president. These pregnant sentences came from the depth of that rich and richly cultivated nature, and were the passionate but reasonable utterances of a life made blessed by service to one whose he was and whom he served. Elsewhere I have expressed my fear that the new conditions of education are likely to lead in all our colleges to the substitution of a distinguished stranger for the president in this final, formal, religious word of the college to the graduating class. There will be compensations for this loss in the greater executive efficiency of the coming layman as president. But when such a man as Noah Porter is at the head of a college, the baccalaureate sermon means far more coming from the president than from any stranger. In the modern emphasis on equipments and facilities it may be worth while to remember that there were certain features in the old and simpler college that

neither money nor science can secure; that there were personal relations and personal and Christian inspirations of incalculable worth, of which the baccalaureate sermon in some cases may be regarded as the truest utterance.

These sermons are good reading for any man, but for those who knew and loved Noah Porter they bring back in a vivid way the benignant presence and Christian scholarship of the man.

The perfect mental training of President Porter sometimes appeared in a striking way. For instance, in a debate, for one side of which he was the only spokesman and in which his mind was roused to unusual energy, the mental movement seemed sometimes to be perfectly indifferent to everything around him. In such a state of energy he would talk with fluency and apparent coherence, but it was quite impossible for the ordinary hearer to follow him or understand the significance of his discourse. It seemed to me on the rare occasions when I noticed this phenomenon that the German metaphysics which he had so profoundly mastered came up from the latent consciousness and assumed control; that his mind was finding expression for swift and subtle processes in metaphysical forms. As a mathematician could not be followed if he applied some advanced method of solution to an ordinary question, so in these crises of debate the metaphysical forms of statement eluded the unversed listener. Something analogous to this I noticed once or twice when he was preaching with not very full notes. In the pulpit it lasted only a

moment or two, but in debate the period was longer. Illustrations of writers whose style has been Germanized are not rare, but I think I never met with any other speaker in whom this complete transformation of style in earnest debate came out as a sort of upheaval of the deeper stratum and then subsided again beneath a perfectly intelligible flow of discourse. By some it was regarded as voluntary, as deliberate talking against time. I should say it was wholly the quickened and exalted action of a highly trained mind, chiefly at home in the study and solution of metaphysical questions.

President Porter could not be other than conservative. Not that he did not welcome new movements or hope for improvement in methods. But by the whole equipment of his nature and training he clung to the main traditions which had given New England such power, and especially to the college system, at once the outgrowth and the inspiration of this power. He could not admit that other studies than the familiar ones, and greater liberty of selection for the student, would be better even in the changed conditions. The voyages of discovery which have been so large an element in the educational world for thirty years had no great promise for him. They were no proof that the old methods were not the most wholesome, but rather a proof that they had not been wholly and sagaciously followed. In the discussion over the relative value of the classics and sciences, and the still more violent conflict over elective studies, he was always in the front rank—cheerfully, bravely fighting for those methods and that system to which he owed his

own culture. The example of the man, his own breadth and power and skill in these conflicts, was one of the most impressive arguments for the old that could be advanced.

The advertising of educational advantages, the publicity sought for men and equipments, the competition between great foundations, the conspicuous exhibition in the newspapers of the cheaper, more material features of colleges, all these were utterly repugnant to his deepest feeling. It will not be forgotten with what eagerness he sprang to his feet in one of the latest alumni meetings of his presidency, to protest against the proposed change of the word *college* in the name of the great institution for which he was spending all his force to *university*. Yale College was dear to him as the apple of his eye. It was already a university. To that it had been constantly expanding during every year of his presidency. Its great professional schools, its scientific and art schools, its enlarging libraries, its crowded museums,—these gave it a vastly different position from what it had when he became professor in 1846. But the change proposed seemed to him to partake of the pretentiousness in educational matters which he disliked. It did not symbolize, he thought, the modesty and the genuineness of the scholarly spirit. It was, he feared, an outgrowth of materialistic tendencies. No one can refuse to pay him honor for that protest. It was the expression of his loyalty to all that is solid and true and simple and quiet in academic life. It may easily be granted that his objections did not represent a full appreciation of

the changed conditions, changes which he perhaps more than any other had helped to bring about. For it must not be forgotten that the growth of Yale College during his presidency, and the more signal expansion of its resources since, rest back on the self-denial and scholarly devotion of a group of professors who under President Woolsey worked with a rare harmony and unity for the advancement of sound learning and Christian faith in the college. Of that group he was one, and he could not in the later days of his presidency quite realize the greatness which he had so largely helped to develop. Nothing was farther from his thought than any self-laudation or any desire to claim credit for achievements. The college was certainly greater than its name, but the name Yale College probably represented to him everything that was dear in education and in faith. It was his desire to do his duty as president of Yale College. How well he did that duty the record of the achievements of his administration shows.

As has already been stated, the last annual catalogue previous to President Porter's inauguration showed a total of five hundred and twenty-two students in the academical department, and of seven hundred and fifty-five in the entire college, including the professional and other schools. The catalogue of 1885-86, the final year of his administration, showed a total of five hundred and sixty-three in the academical department, and of one thousand and sixty-three in the entire college. The number of professors and teachers of all grades had risen during the period from seventy-two to one hundred and

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NOAH PORTER.

[From a photograph taken in 1866.]

fourteen. The aggregate funds of the whole institution were augmented from about a million and a quarter exclusive of unproductive real estate to nearly a million and three-quarters. The enlargement in buildings during the administration was even more striking. The North Sheffield Hall costing about \$80,000, the West Divinity valued at \$160,000, the Battell Chapel representing an outlay of \$200,000, the first wing of the Peabody Museum, erected from funds previously given at a cost of \$175,000, the Sloane Physical Laboratory, the Kent Chemical Laboratory, Lawrence Hall, the building for the Young Men's Christian Association known as Dwight Hall,—these are the larger and more important constructions of the period. But changes in old buildings, and in sewerage and steam heating, with reconstructions of various kinds necessary to the healthful growth of a great institution, must have carried the amount expended in material improvements independent of library enlargement, to nearly if not quite \$1,000,000. In the catalogue of 1871 the library is said to contain sixty thousand volumes besides the twenty-seven thousand belonging to the two once famous literary societies. The catalogue of 1886 gives the total number of volumes accessible to students in the various libraries as one hundred and sixty thousand.

Dr. Porter had when professor been active in soliciting money for the expansion of the college. Some large donations which occurred during the earlier period may in part at least be referred to the personal attachment of the giver to him. It is not probable that he often asked persons for contributions during his presidency. Some

times a playful allusion may have been made to the needs of the college, but he was in the first place too intensely occupied to give much time to the beggar's function. Then possibly the feeling had deepened in his mind that a college doing the great work that Yale had been doing, and with the great constituency that Yale had, was sure to be appreciated and sustained; sure, if her wants were understood, to receive ample endowment. In his reports and public utterances he stated these wants plainly, and trusted that the necessary resources would come,—if not in his time, then later. The free devotion in this country by men of wealth of their possessions to institutions of learning began in his day. It has become much more noteworthy since. But the multiplication of new institutions, and the magnificent endowment of some of them which in the rapidly diminishing distances of our country seems less necessary than once, — if not checked, is likely to keep many of the older colleges, colleges that by the heroic services of their graduates to the nation have earned a lasting title to gratitude, if not actually poor, at least in a constant struggle for enlargement. In a sense Yale College when under President Porter's guidance was in such a struggle. But when I recall his sound and varied learning, his personal kindness, his lofty Christian character, and his remarkable vitality, all devoted to the progress of the college; when I recall the company of illustrious and self-denying professors of the academical school who gave their time and thought to the training of the

young men, and remember the impartial justice of their decisions and the unfaltering obedience required of every pupil; when I think of the many highly-trained minds that came under their instruction, in the Junior and Senior years, and know that what was true of the classical department was true also of the Sheffield school and of the theological school and elsewhere, — I am led to question if even during that struggle any college in America was reaching nobler results, or whether any college as a whole has had a more golden period than Yale had under Dr. Porter. Collisions and frictions which were not unknown fade from memory; restrictions and embarrassments were glorified by the spirit in which they were overcome; the worth of the things unseen and eternal was set before young men with singular clearness, and the guide and inspiration of all the unified activities was the beloved president. It was not too much to say of him that he wrought well,

“ And wrought
All kind of service with a noble ease
That graced the lowliest act in doing it.”

To those whose only knowledge of Dr. Porter was in connection with his administration of Yale University a large portion of his character and traits were unrevealed. He appeared as a man of learning, of ability in affairs, and sound conservative judgment on general questions, a philosopher in the literal and scholarly senses, a man

*Vacations in
the woods.
By Dean
Sage.*

of the most winning and gracious manner, the flower of New England civilization.

But there was another side to Dr. Porter, perhaps not so impressive but more charming, and that was shown to those who knew him in his seasons of relaxation, when his years seemed to slip from him, new sensations and dormant tastes asserted themselves, and, with no loss of dignity, he became a companion for those a score or two years his junior, ready to share all their amusements and join them in any manly exploits. A good woodsman, an untiring walker and oarsman, always cheerful under the most untoward circumstances, he possessed to an unusual degree the qualities of boldness, hardihood, and enterprise, which under other conditions would have made him foremost among the pioneers who with axe and rifle have conquered this continent. I was fortunate enough to see a good deal of Dr. Porter in the Adirondacks, and for a number of years passed weeks with him either in camp on the Upper Ausable Pond, or in taking the various walking trips, sometimes of considerable duration, from Keene Valley.

There are no conditions under which a man could show his amiable and lovely qualities to greater advantage than under the stress of fatigue and discomfort that attended mountain climbing and camping as they were practiced in the Adirondacks in Dr. Porter's day. Trails were bad and the last idea of the guides was to improve them. Blankets, waterproofs and provisions had to be carried on the backs of those making the expeditions, this duty not being confined to the guides, but every one packing

his own share. The nights were not passed in anything better than a bark lean-to, and even the permanent camps on the Upper Ausable were made of unchinked logs with one side entirely open and uniformly leaky roofs. With all its hardships and annoyances no man ever enjoyed this rude life more than the Doctor, or gave more pleasure to those with him. His good-nature was unfailing, and though past the prime of life he always wanted to do more than his share of the various labors that daily presented themselves. His quiet but exquisite humor, and the peculiar twinkle of his eyes when delivering himself of it, were charming to all about the camp, including the guides and children, who soon came to know the sign and appreciate what followed it.

Of children we had in camp each summer half a dozen or more of all ages and sizes, and some of them were not devoid of many of the imperfections of youth. They all united however in admiration and love for Dr. Porter, who daily devoted hours to their entertainment and instruction. The welfare of every member of the party was continually on his mind, and he delighted in producing from his knapsack unexpectedly some comfit or pill or bolus, that would tickle the palates or assuage some ill, real or imagined, of his companions.

His enjoyment of nature was keen and untiring, and nobody knew as well as he the many places on the upper pond from which to get the best views of the rare scenery which surrounds it. Daily would he go out in a boat, sometimes alone, sometimes taking one or two with him, for the sole purpose of looking again at the

"Gothics" or "Sawtooth," his favorite mountains, with just as lively interest as if he had not seen them a thousand times before, and on his return he would tell of some new impression he had gained, or of some new beauties he had discovered.

He was not fond of fishing, but many a morning he has risen at chilly daybreak to row with me up to the "Spring hole" on the inlet a mile and a half distant, where, for a few moments before its waters were touched by the rising sun, large trout infrequently took the fly, as they also did between sundown and dark. These trout were so wary that the least splash of an oar in going over the spring hole to its upper end, whence the cast was made, destroyed the chance of any rising for the short fishable period available, and the doctor enjoyed immensely the proof of his clever handling of the boat which the hooking of a trout afforded. One evening it began raining when we were half way up to the spring hole, but he declined to turn back as I wished, and felt amply repaid for a thorough soaking and the savage attacks of the midges by seeing me take three very fine trout.

The different ways in which he showed his capacity for enjoying the pleasures of others, which of themselves were not interesting to him, and his sympathy with everything human, were the features of his character which won the love of all who really knew him.

It was very interesting to watch, as I have had several chances of doing, the progress of his acquaintance with Yale lower-class men who met him, unofficially,

for the first time. One evening two such called where we were staying in Keene Valley, and in the full flow of conversation, mostly carried on by them, Dr. Porter entered. The boys were presented to him and fell at once into a state of silent awe and embarrassment alike ludicrous and painful. The doctor with the greatest kindness and tact devoted himself to putting them at ease, and it was curious and pleasant to watch the change in an hour from the original attitude of the young fellows to that of enthusiastic regard which animated them when they departed.

The anecdote with which I will close was told me by the doctor himself, who enjoyed the recollection of it immensely. One September when at Saratoga attending the Social Science Convention, he was strolling along the street and came upon two college professors, one of them from Yale, and joining them walked a short distance, until one said, "Doctor, it is beer we want and not Porter!" Of course the hint was sufficient, and the professors were allowed to seek their convivial haunt without the company of the president of Yale.

Among my treasured *memorabilia* is the photograph of a group of which President Porter is the central figure. The date of the picture is 1875; the scene, a camp on the Upper Ausable, loveliest of the Adirondack lakes. The party of fifteen that appear with him in it is composed of men, women, young children and guides — all his

In the Adirondacks.
By Rev. J.
H. Twichell.

friends. He stands forward in the midst, dressed for the woods, flannel-shirted, without a coat, holding a gun sportively put into his hand by one of us while the camera was being adjusted, the amused smile with which he had permitted such an absurd misrepresentation of his taste and practice still lingering on his scholarly, benignant face.¹

This picture I value as a relic of the man because it is a vivid reminder of the circumstances in which I gained my most intimate knowledge of him, and with which the recollections of him that I love most to dwell upon are identified.

More than thirty-five years I was acquainted with him, and in various relations. First as a student under his instruction at Yale, he being my division officer in Senior year; then as a frequent visitor to the old college where I hardly ever failed to meet him; then as pastor in Hartford of a family of his near kindred whom he often came there to see, at whose house, and sometimes at my own, I had many and many a talk with him, as also occasionally at his father's house in Farmington. For the twelve years from 1874 to the end of his presidency I was a Fellow of Yale College, in which office, through the widening of the field of our association

¹ His career as a sportsman was brief. When he was a boy, he once shot at a bird and brought it down. The sight of the pretty creature killed by him was enough. He never again sought his own pleasure in the death of a living thing. The trait reminds one of Walter Scott—to whose character there was no small resemblance in Dr. Porter—who owned that early in life the look in the eyes of a dying black-cock he had shot cured him of all taste for such sport.—EDITOR.

and the large measure of confidential intercourse it involved, I had a peculiarly favorable opportunity of noting the traits of his mind and character.

But, as I have intimated, it is the impressions of him obtained in the vacations which for a series of summers it was my happy fortune to share with him at Keene Valley in the Adirondack Mountains, that survive clearest in my thoughts. In such intervals of release from the pressure of life's tasks and cares it was natural that his most distinctively personal qualities should come out in freest play and expression, as they did; and not alone the social and moral but the intellectual as well. Though he was unharnessed from formal work, his thoughtful habit was not suspended. His mind was in full busy movement, and it would often transpire that he was revolving his own special subjects as a philosopher. With one of the summers I speak of is associated his meditative perusal, at odd times, under the shade, of *Die Natur*, a thick, paper-covered German volume, then recently published. I remember while on a walk with him one day to Chapel Pond our happening upon Professor William James of Harvard University, and how quickly, as by common impulse, the two fell into psychophysical discourse. Never were those familiar with him more struck with his intellectual vigor, breadth and accomplishments, his candor and fairness, his singular intellectual tolerance and hospitality, than in his talk while following a wilderness trail, or resting from a mountain climb, or in evening conferences around the camp-fire.

His rich learning was eminently accessible to him, and in shape to communicate. One Sunday we who were lodging in the same house with him, discouraged by the weather from church-going, made bold to ask him, as we were sitting together in the common room, to enlighten our ignorance regarding Immanuel Kant; and were rewarded with an hour's impromptu lecture, delivered from his chair, conversational in style, easy-flowing, lucid and exceedingly interesting, which was in effect an outline sketch of the history of modern philosophy.

The predominant impressions, however, that one derived from being with him in his summer outings were of his human companionableness, and of his wonderful love of nature, — the keenness of his sympathy with it in all aspects and moods. A friend who knew him long and well is accustomed to say that what to her above anything beside in her experience illustrates the depth of the feeling of beauty in the material world we are capable of, is the manner in which, many years ago, she saw him affected by a sunset of remarkable splendor.

One reason why the photograph I have referred to is of particular significance to me, is that it suggests an occasion on which I witnessed a similar manifestation. When our camping party on the Upper Ausable Lake in that year (1875) broke up, — the most returning directly to Keene Valley, — he took two of us with him, and two guides, and we set out on an excursion of about twenty miles, over Mount Tahawus, down the Opalescent River, by Lake Henderson, out through famed Indian Pass to North Elba, — one of the wildest, most romantic routes

in the Adirondack region. Dr. Porter was at this time in his sixty-fourth year, but not many young men could make such a trip at better speed or with more ease than he. It was late in the afternoon when we reached the colossal flat boulder called Summit Rock, at the top of Indian Pass. The bark shelter where we had planned to spend the night was a mile further on, but we paused to take breath after the stiff ascent and to survey the scene;—the towering cliff of Wallface on one side, the huge bulk of McIntire on the other, and the far, wide prospect to the southward. It was a glorious transparent day, and we lingered, reluctant to turn away from such enchantments. Suddenly, ere we were aware, the sun dropped behind the crest of the range to the west of Lake Henderson, and the scene changed. Long, slanting shafts of radiance burst between the peaks and streamed miles and miles across the bosom of the forest basin beneath. It was magnificent beyond words. But the shadows were now fast gathering in the Pass, and after looking a few minutes more, warned that the light would soon be gone, we seized our knapsacks to move on,—all but Dr. Porter. He was like a man in a trance, gazing immovably with all his eyes on the vision. “Come, Doctor!” we said, “we must be off, and we have no time to lose!” To which, after a little he answered—but without turning—“Let’s stay here.” That meant venturing the chances of the weather under the open sky, and there were questions of water and fuel. But the guides, who were always eager to take trouble for him, undertook to manage, and we threw our

knapsacks down again. While supper was preparing, the Doctor stood and watched the view till it faded into twilight. All the evening he talked about it in a quiet, subdued, half-absent tone, as if he was still seeing it. Then he rolled himself in his blanket and slept like an infant. He was up in the morning at early dawn, and returning to his point of outlook was again for an hour absorbed in the pageant of the sunrise. So he completed his feast royal. When we resumed our journey his marked elation of spirit denoted that what he had beheld was to him the subject of an unusual congratulation. That night in Indian Pass, to us who were in his company, had shown great sights, but very evidently, as we could but understand, not so great as to him. Such things, as Coleridge says,

“Receive

Their finer influence from the life within.”

At other times that come back to me I saw him in like degree transported with scenes of wild sublimity and beauty, and recognized that his joy in them was to me unapproachable.

But the more common things were full of charm to him. To what has been termed “the poetry of nature’s ordinary appearances” he had a most delicate sensibility. He reveled in the woods; in their multitudinous forms of life, animate and inanimate; in their sounds and silences.

As I have remarked, his pedestrian powers, in the period of his summerings in the Adirondacks, were extraordinary for one of his age. Year after year he

explored the wilderness into which Keene Valley projects, with an ever fresh ardor. One of his luxuries was to conduct a party of friends to see some attraction, — view, or rock, or cascade, or tree — which he had discovered. With what zest and youthful exhilaration would he lead such an expedition! Not an angler himself, he would follow another who was fishing a mountain brook, all day long, occupied with the endless succession of objects of interest and delight that his progress would bring in his way. A mountain lake afforded him inexhaustible resources of enjoyment. No boy was fonder of a boat than he. It was impossible for those with him even for a short time not to perceive the alert eye he had to whatever was on any account observable, and the relish with which he examined it.

His love for the scenes from which he drank so sweet refreshment and amid which he tasted so many refined pleasures, constantly increased. He once told me of hearing his life-long and dear friend Horace Bushnell say of a certain landscape to be seen from a hill in his native Connecticut town of New Preston, that, although he had looked on it uncounted times from his boyhood to his old age, it had been never twice the same to him, but always new; that it had disclosed on his every return to it features of loveliness not before discerned; and that he could not doubt there was more in it than he had ever yet seen, waiting to be unveiled. "That," said Dr. Porter, with feeling, "was, in its province, the mark of a great mind and of a great man." It was an unconscious self-description. Year by year the wilder-

ness places he frequented opened a deeper soul of beauty to him, and inspired him with a stronger affection.

He was, without effort, the equal comrade of whomsoever he was thrown in with, old or young, wise or simple, man or woman. Our boys had no treat more welcome or more enjoyed than to go off for a day's tramp with him. Those resorting to the mountains for rest and health, who met him there as strangers, knowing him only by public reputation, were surprised at the ease they immediately found in his society. His genial nature expanded in the atmosphere of seclusion amid wild surroundings. Every party going with him into the woods felt the spiritual sunshine of it. He made the camp seem like a home. The guides all loved him and coveted his service, thinking more of his company than of his wages. The Keene Valley folks came to look eagerly for his annual appearance among them. It was a sight to see them shaking hands with him after church the first Sunday.

I have heard Melville Trumbull, the guide who was most with him in the woods, and whom I name in accordance with what I am sure would be Dr. Porter's wish, relate the manner of his farewell to the Upper Ausable Lake, already mentioned, his favorite haunt, on which he had spent many a happy week, with which, one might say, he was on terms of the tenderest living sympathy. It was in the course of the vacation which his consciousness of declining strength had warned him would probably be his last in the Adirondacks. He had gone with Trumbull to the lake to pass two or three days there in camp and have one more look at a place so dear. The

morning he was to return to the Valley, when everything was made ready to start, he bade Trumbull leave the luggage where it was for a while and row him out into the lake. Midway between the shores he caused the boat to stop. A long time he sat there, turning this way and that, bending his eyes earnestly, steadfastly, but without speaking, on the views around,—the Gothic Range, the cone of Haystack, the encircling forest. Then he directed the guide to take him near and along the shore. As they moved slowly on, by one and another familiar spot, Trumbull saw that the Doctor's eyes were filled with tears, and perceived that it was a leave-taking. "I never in my life had anything make me feel so bad," he said in telling the story. So they passed round the circuit of the lake, the silence between them hardly broken by a word, the Doctor parting with all as one would part with a friend he might never see again, the guide stealing furtive glances of sympathy at him.

When, four or five years after he began coming there, it was by some one proposed that a neighboring great mountain, called, from the original settlement of the Valley, a century or more, West Mountain, should be changed in name to Mount Porter,—the whole community, of natives and visitors alike, with one consent approved and adopted the proposal. The new name went into general use forthwith. Mount Porter it is now on the map, and will be forever,—a memorial of one who, while he was of distinguished rank among the intellectual leaders of his time, was the most large-hearted and pure-hearted and brotherly of men.

It was a very tired man who laid down the presidency of Yale College in the summer of 1886. Dr. Carter has shown how heavy was the work of his administration, and how stoutly he carried it. There were circumstances in the situation which increased his difficulties. The inevitable change from a college into a university — in fact if not yet in name — brought many problems which could not be judged alike by all members of the Faculty. The doubtful question, how far the students were to be controlled with a sort of paternal care as to their studies and their opinions, and how far they were to be encouraged in intellectual independence, was often coming up in one phase and another. President Porter's fidelity to Christian doctrine as fundamental to sound education sometimes occasioned divergences of opinion. On such subjects as the employment of Herbert Spencer's text-books questions arose which were not easy of settlement. To a nature at once as earnest and as friendly as his, such differences among colleagues and friends were not the least of the difficulties to be met.

But, whatever the strain of work, he was skillful in fitting himself to the harness. Those nearest him said he showed less of nervous tension after taking the presidency than before. He was proficient in the great double art — to manage the nerves and to master them. But his prudence yielded once to the enthusiasm of study and achievement. In the long vacation of 1885, he worked assiduously at his book on Kant's Ethics. There was no external reason for his doing so; his family tried

*Retirement
from the
Presidency.
By the
Editor.*

to persuade him to take his usual complete out-door rest; — but the spell of the great theme and the great thinker was on him, and he drove at the book until it was finished. It was soon after his return to college in the autumn that he gave to the Corporation his resignation. He was in his seventy-fifth year, he said, and should soon be disqualified for the place, — to some he might already seem so, — and he thought it wise to retire. Only his family, — glad that he should at last begin to spare himself, — shared in his decision or knew of it beforehand. He told even Dr. Woolsey only as he was on his way to the Corporation meeting. For the remainder of the year he was active in every direction, bringing up the work of his administration to the greatest possible completeness; writing for the *New Englander*; making addresses — among them an elaborate lecture on Evolution, and his New Milford semi-centennial; with an eye always on the revision of the Dictionary; his hospitable door always open, his attention ready for every friend or casual visitor. For the first time, he began to show the face and bearing of an over-worked man.

Then, when Commencement and President Dwight's inauguration were over, and he was out of harness at last, he turned to rest and play as heartily as ever did a school-boy let loose. He sailed at once for England with his eldest daughter. By the end of the voyage his freshness had begun to return. Then came a delightful round of excursions and visits. A week was spent at Cambridge and another at Oxford. At each place he was welcomed to the choicest University society. At

Balliol College, besides his meetings with the Dons, a special party was made for him with undergraduate students as the principal guests. In London a diuner-party was given in his honor by Mr. Hutton of the *Spectator*—a writer with whose convictions he was in especial sympathy. Another dinner-party was given by United States Minister Phelps, his friend and formerly his colleague at Yale, with Mr. Browning, Sir James Paget, Sir Richard Webster and James Russell Lowell among the guests. At Edinburgh he received from the University the degree of Doctor of Laws. He came home in the autumn, rested and refreshed,—but not with the old vigor.

In resigning the presidency, he had retained the Clark professorship. From this he never retired, but he gradually lessened his work, and in the last year kept only the small classes in the post-graduate department. This department was almost a creation of his presidency. For many years before that there had been a number of resident graduate students, to many of whom he had given more or less of direction. But the establishment and development of an elaborate system of post-graduate instruction was especially congenial to him, and among the teachers who laboriously and generously co-operated to this end he was the leading spirit. His own teaching of philosophy in this department was his latest service to the college. No work of his was more characteristic than this, and we have a portrayal of it from one whom he not only taught but initiated as teacher with and after himself.

In writing of Dr. Porter as a teacher of Philosophy I write of him simply as a teacher of graduate students, for it was only in this capacity that it was my privilege to study under him. As a teacher of advanced students he was undoubtedly successful. This will be conceded by a large majority of those who had the good fortune to be in his classes. He had the power to awaken a genuine interest in his subject, to inspire the student to earnest endeavor, to explain lucidly the nature of the difficult problems of philosophy, to point out their real bearing on the vital interests of life, and to lead the student into a cautious, candid and thoughtful consideration of philosophical questions, and the various answers to them which philosophical literature affords. In endeavoring to account for Dr. Porter's success as a teacher several points must be noted, as follows:—

*As a
Teacher of
Philosophy.
By Dr. E.
Hershey
Sneath.*

1. His personality. He was a strong, well-balanced, highly endowed and highly cultivated man, with a rich, forceful and attractive personality. Nature had done much for him, education more. He was strong intellectually, but not at the expense of his emotional nature; for he was also strong in feeling, which colored and warmed his whole intellectual life. But feeling never clouded his intellect, nor biassed his judgment. He was a man of profound sympathy and generous impulses but these were under rational control. He was strong also in will. An intensely active, and in many respects an exceedingly practical man, he took an interest in the material aspects of life, and would easily have succeeded

as "a man of affairs." The ethical will was powerful in him, and his supreme choice seemed to be the complete rationalization and moralization of life. In short, so happy was he in his endowments and so harmoniously were his powers developed, that in him Socrates' remarkable prayer seemed to be realized: "Give me beauty in the inward soul, and may the outward and inward man be at one."¹ It was this happy and harmonious development of the whole man that attracted the student at once and counted as a potent factor in Dr. Porter's success as a teacher.

2. His equipment. He was thoroughly familiar with his subject. His knowledge of the facts, principles, problems, theories, and literature of his subject was really remarkable. He not only thought profoundly on psychological, ethical, and philosophical themes, but was familiar with what nearly every other philosopher had thought concerning them. The student got the benefits of his broad scholarship, for he always had his material at command. He was a constantly growing man. Rosenkranz, in his *Philosophy of Education*, says there are three stages in the "didactic process": — apprenticeship, journeyman-ship, mastership. The master is the teacher. But "the master is complete only in relation to the journeyman and apprentice; to them he is superior. But, on the other hand, in relation to the infinity of the problems of his art and science, he is by no means complete; to himself he must appear as one who begins ever anew, one who is ever striving, one to whom a new prob-

¹ *Phædrus*, p. 585. (Jowett's trans.)

lem ever rises from every achieved result. He cannot discharge himself from work, he must never desire to rest on his laurels. He is the truest master whose finished performances only force him on to never-resting progress."¹ This description fits Dr. Porter's case. He was at the same time teacher and pupil in the sense indicated above. He was a constant student, and was acquainted with the latest utterances on philosophical subjects. Nor did this desire to be familiar with the last word that had been written diminish in his old age. It was my privilege to be intimately associated with him as student and assistant instructor during the last four years of his life, and one thing that impressed me deeply was his great interest in everything new in the department of philosophy. He wanted to read and discuss the latest books. So profoundly interested in his subject was he, that even down to the last months of his life, when the body was scarcely able to obey the behests of the spirit, he would greet me with the question as to what was new in the philosophical world. For him there was no dead-line beyond which there was no progress. Not even the infirmities of age constituted a valid excuse for an abatement of work and interest. Progress was the law which governed him. The advantages to the student of coming under the instruction of such a teacher are of course apparent. What the master had was given to the pupil; and not only of his goods, but of his spirit did the pupil receive, for such a spirit could not fail to powerfully influence a thoughtful mind.

¹ P. 107 (ed. by W. T. Harris, N. Y., 1891).

It might be mentioned here that Dr. Porter's means for knowing the latest word on philosophical subjects were exceptional. His reputation as a scholar was not confined to this country. He was widely known in Great Britain and Germany. This brought to him from their authors a large number of books immediately after their publication. Especially was this so in regard to monographs. He was constantly receiving those books which treated exhaustively of special problems in Psychology, Ethics, and Philosophy. He would call his pupils' attention to these works and give them the benefit of their contents.

3. His method. His method of teaching was to have no method—at least no formal pedagogical method. His students would meet him in his room, and the hour would be spent in discussing the points of the lesson in the most informal manner. The student soon learned that Dr. Porter was at his best when questioned;—that the best results of the hour could be attained by “drawing him out,” as the phrase went. In response to intelligent questioning he would not only unfold his own mature thought on a subject, but familiarize the student with the opinions of others concerning it. He was thoroughly at home in discussion. He was a keen critic, an able debater, a lucid expositor, ready and felicitous in illustration, and quick in apprehending another's position. These powers made him not only a delightful but an exceedingly helpful instructor. If he had any prominent fault as a teacher it was in assuming more knowledge on the part of the student than the latter really

possessed. This fault undoubtedly grew out of his own familiarity with the questions under discussion.

4. His spirit as a philosophical thinker. He undoubtedly had the spirit of the true philosopher. Profoundly in earnest, the problems of philosophy were vastly more than intellectual puzzles to him. He clearly perceived their deep significance for human life and destiny, and he approached their consideration with a serious and reverent mind. Cautious, he did not pronounce hastily on a question, knowing the largeness and many-sidedness of truth. He was free from the dogmatism that too often characterizes the philosophic mind, and especially that of the school of philosophy with which he was identified. Candid, he looked on all sides of a question, desiring above all things to know the truth. He had, indeed, a system of his own, but this did not close his mental vision to the merits of other systems, or to the vulnerable points of his own. Tolerant, he favored the largest liberty of opinion, believing that speculative thought was an evolution truthwards. If anything, he was intolerant of intolerance. He criticised indeed, but he never abused. It was the sober, dignified, rational criticism of a cultivated mind and truth-loving spirit.

Such in brief were the qualities which distinguished Dr. Porter as a teacher of advanced students in philosophy. They are qualities which could not fail to render him eminently successful in his teaching. It only remains to say, that his students not only profoundly respected and honored him, but loved him. In him "the true, the beautiful and the good" were realized to

such an extent that his influence not only affected the intellectual life of his students, but their æsthetic, ethical and religious life as well. Both as a man and as a teacher he was a positive force in the development and sanctification of human nature as a whole.

I cannot refrain from mentioning that in sending me the above paper Professor Sneath expresses an apprehension lest it may appear like fulsome eulogy, *In Review.* but even with that apprehension in mind he *By the* has found himself unable to moderate his *Editor.* praise of Dr. Porter's philosophical teaching. Professor Duncan, another of his pupils who is now teaching philosophy at Yale, in sending the paper on "Dr. Porter as a Philosopher," writes: "It is simply impossible to do anything like justice to the subject in so few pages"; and adds that to pay its closing tribute to Dr. Porter is his sufficient reward for the work. And I venture to quote from the letter which accompanies the paper on the Theory of Morals, by Dr. Nakashima,—another pupil and friend of Dr. Porter, to whom he bequeathed his philosophical library, and who is now a professor in the University of Tokyo. He writes: "I have tried to say what Dr. Porter would like to hear from me if I were to read the paper to him in his study. No man so disliked anything that appeared like flattery or display. He was sincere through and through, and liked sincerity above many other virtues. Some may think I have been too moderate in my paper, as I have restrained very

much my feeling in writing it, but I think Dr. Porter will like it better on that account. I have written it all before his picture, with the feeling that I am writing it all before him and he knows it all."

With a like impulse to sincerity, and fear to "o'erstep the modesty of nature," let a final word be said as to the philosophy epitomized in these two papers. Before the chart here laid down of man's intellectual and moral nature, some feeling will undoubtedly rise in the non-professional reader that whatever the interest and merit of the survey it leaves great tracts unexplored and great questions unsettled. No one would have conceded this more heartily than its author. No one would more emphatically say that he was only one of a line of explorers in what yet remains largely an undiscovered country. The modern study of man's inner world is in its infancy. It is less than three centuries since that study was fairly begun. And of its earlier pursuit, we may say that the philosophical quest begun in the ancient world by Plato and Aristotle was in effect almost suspended for fifteen hundred years. For that time the world was to receive an immense discipline in practical ethics before it was qualified to go on with its inquiry. In that period, in science and philosophy little was gained and much was forgotten; but mankind was schooled, though often under strange and mixed influences, in purity and tenderness and holiness. When the ecclesiastical rule which had become a tyranny was broken down, — when thought again was free, — it was a new and finer race of men who took up again the question, "What is truth?" The

modern philosophy of the outer world began with Bacon. Contemporaneously, the philosophy of the inner world began with Descartes. The two lines of thought have gone on side by side, but the conspicuous triumph has been in the knowledge of external nature — the easier, more obvious field, and the more inviting in material reward. In our knowledge of Mind we are still perhaps where we were in knowledge of Matter before "God said, 'Let there be light,' and Newton was."

So, the discoveries hitherto of our moral and mental philosophers must be estimated as essays in a work which is still in its infancy. If we call such books as Dr. Porter's "maps of the human mind," the fair analogy is with the maps that were made of the New World in the early stages of its discovery. Mr. Fiske, in his *Discovery of America*, has set forth in a fascinating way how slow and long was that process. The story is illustrated in a series of maps, — the early ones fantastically unlike the reality — then, after a decade or two, an outline corrected in certain points, thanks to some bold captain's voyage — and so, centuries after Columbus, there came to be at last a true map of the American continent. Yet it was those early charts, full of faults and guess-work, that helped Columbus and all the line of heroes to do their work. And such help is given to all seekers in thought's mysterious realm by map-makers like Noah Porter. Deep meditation, wide research, pure love of truth, have wrought stepping-stones for those who shall scale further heights.

A final word may also here be said as to his essential

service to Yale. The most general criticism upon his administration as president would perhaps be that he was unduly tenacious of the old order. Without discussing the questions which this suggests, it may perhaps be assumed that in the large view it is desirable that radical changes should be tested first in one university, and that it is not only natural but wholesome that of the two great New England colleges the one should adopt the conservative and the other the progressive attitude, until the experimental stage is past. Of President Porter's disinclination to change, I have suggested a partial reason, — that the special energy needed for a reformer can scarcely be expected of a man whose energies are claimed in a hundred other directions. A further reason has been given by Dr. Carter, — in that optimism, and disposition to see good in the present, which makes change seem unnecessary. With this there blent a loving and loyal attachment to old memories and associations. It was just such a disposition as made Walter Scott a conservative to the end of his life.

But, deeper than special questions of method, Dr. Porter was essentially progressive along the great lines. In melting away the old barrier of formality between instructors and students, he did a vast service. All scholarships tended to become more free, generous and comprehensive under his inspiration. He was conservative of the best virtues of the older time, — its simplicity, its self-help, its exaltation of things of the spirit above material wealth. The good fellowship of students with each other, the *esprit de corps* of the college, the

spirit that creates a free-masonry between Yale men wherever they meet, were strengthened by the whole force of his personality. His example should be a caution against tendencies which mar the grand present and promise of the college. To him its tutelary divinities were Character and Intellect, and the place of Muscle and Money was as servants only. A Yale Senior was lately asked, "Who is *ex officio* the greatest man in college?" — "The captain of the foot-ball team," was the prompt reply. — "Of course, and who has second honors?" — "Second, but at a good remove, come the captains of the crew and of the base-ball team." — "And who is next?" — "There isn't any next!" And it was not a Harvard but a Yale man who offered one explanation of his college's supremacy in athletics: "You see at Yale the athletic interest is supreme, while at Harvard it divides attention with scholarship and literature and various other affairs — so of course we beat them in our specialty."

But that is only one side of the story. The old Yale man, returning to his Alma Mater, finds in some ways an ampler and better life than of old. He finds less sowing of the seeds of dyspepsia and nervous exhaustion, a better regard for the *corpus sanum* as well as the *mens sana*. He may recognize that to the playing of foot-ball go mental and moral qualities of no mean order — the soldier's virtues, although with some of the brutality of war. He will find, among other things, President Porter's old pupils carrying on his work, in a spirit essentially his, while they have partly borrowed the free methods of his graduate instruction. And, along with

much of more costly living, and some suggestions of the wealth-worship which infects American society, he will find still that democratic spirit which has been the glory of Yale, and abundant illustration of the scholar's gospel of plain living and high thinking.

That phrase has especially recurred to me as I sat in Dr. Porter's home study, which seemed full of the presence of the man. It is very simple in furnishing, with a Franklin stove, ample book-cases, a fine octagonal study-table inherited from Dr. Taylor, statuettes of Kant and Lessing, and engraved portraits of Coleridge, Burns, Schiller, and Sir William Hamilton. We may glance at some of the letters which came to him here, — choosing, without regard to dates, such as show something of his relations with people.

Here is one from an army chaplain in the midst of the war. "For almost twenty years past I have been your debtor for an article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January 1845, on 'The Youth of the Scholar.'" He and his young wife as they read it together had resolved that the scholar's opportunities, denied to them in their struggling youth in the wilds of Maine, should be given to their children. And now their oldest boy has reached his Senior year in Yale; he writes that Professor Porter is a "deep man," and the metaphysics are almost too much for him; for more than three years the army service has kept father and son apart; — will not Dr. Porter have a fatherly eye to the young man in his difficulties, and be his friend?

Here is a message which an old pupil sends from

Japan. "You may remember that during my Freshman year the Faculty thought it good to discipline me (rather severely I have always believed) for showing a natural though boyish displeasure at a most unendurably tedious sermon preached one day in the college chapel. The punishment did me a vast deal of good, however, but the circumstance for gratitude lay in a few kind words spoken by you to me, when, in great trouble because of the sentence of the Faculty, I called upon you to bespeak a little mercy. As I left your house you placed your hand upon my head and said, 'It is these hard things that develop in us all true character.' Your words were often made the occasion of a joke, but they were never regarded by me in any other light than in that of the motive that dictated them; and very many times, both during my college course and since then, have I been grateful for them and for the kindness which prompted them. They gave me a glimpse of yourself which could not have been gained in ten years of recitation-room association. They were a revelation of that which alone can help men — sympathy."

Edward R. Sill — that man of fine genius and aspiration — writes from California: "I don't know how distinct a recollection you have of me — Sill of '61 — but you may recollect that I was indebted to you for some good advice (besides other good things) — having been a beggar for which before is my only claim on you for more now." The case is described, with delicate sympathy and discrimination, of a young woman struggling to get an education. Now where in the East shall she go?

Is Mouut Holyoke the best place ? "It does grieve me, in heathendom here, to find a young soul reaching out in a groping and forlorn manner after some indistinct ideal of an education, loving truth, and loving to rise, on their poor clipped and hampered stubs of wings,—trying to find out what it is all about, this earth and the heavens over it—and no one to brush away a single cobweb. . . . I know of no one else whose opinion I could be certain was valuable and reliable. And then too (as you have probably had annoying experience) we the boys always look back with a sort of filial feeling toward some of you our teachers, as persons whom we have a right to saddle our perplexities and ignorances upon for all the rest of our lives."

A professor in the Washington and Lee University writes him a very grateful letter. Disinclined though he was to beg for his own college, Dr. Porter had taken pains in behalf of its struggling Southern sister, to open communication in its favor with a wealthy man. "Not only do I feel very grateful for this proof of your liberal and generous spirit, but General Lee and several of our Faculty to whom I read your letter desire to express through me their sense of the obligation." He will take to himself a portion of the credit for Dr. Porter's aid: "I am determined to believe that your friendliness is that sequel that the doer of a good turn always feels like adding to his work. You have perhaps felt, 'Here is a man whose morals I helped to form, though I did not fix his politics; let me give him and his a little material aid.'"

From the beginning of President Hayes's administration onward, many letters bear the headings of the Washington departments. Besides official communications — election and re-election as regent of the Smithsonian, appointment as visitor to West Point, report as president of the board of visitors, and so on — there are more intimate matters. The personal relations with President Hayes and his family became very cordial. With Secretary Evarts there was the continuance of a friendship dating from college days. There are glimpses of the inner political history of the time. "It may be necessary," writes Mr. Evarts in 1877, "to attempt more intimate relations between the people and the president over the heads of the politicians. The dangers that beset the maintenance of government are but little appreciated." Secretary Windom replies very warmly to congratulations on taking the Treasury portfolio under President Garfield, recalling their "delightful and too brief intercourse at West Point." From Francis Wharton there are cordial letters, — one touching the journeys to alumni meetings. "I used to look with humble admiration not merely at your books and at your teaching, but at your journeys on educational errands, exhibiting as you used to do, after travelling which would fatigue anybody else, not only tact, shrewdness, strong sense, and mental power, but buoyant and fresh good-humor, as if you had just got up out of a sound sleep, had just finished a cheering breakfast, and had nothing in the world before you to give you a moment's care."

Here are glimpses of vacation days. "I have reserved a small space covered with trees for your benefit. I shall have a sharp axe all ready. Do come and help me out of a very difficult problem — how to enlarge a garden and at the same time not to cut down any trees." A big round childish hand tells him a child's news from a home where he is expected, — how "there are a great many bull-heads up in our pond now, and we go up there fishing for them;" about the school examination, the fishing, the huckleberrying, and how "Papa has got a new dog which an Englishman gave him named Venus." Papa adds a postscript: "I fervently trust you may be at Keene with us, as, confidentially, besides the great enjoyment I get out of being near you, I am always made — I am sorry to say, temporarily — a better man by the contact with the life I love as much as I respect. I hope I may be a near witness this year of one or more of your pedestrian feats, though about all I could expect would be to stand at the foot of the mountains and at the brink of the raging torrents, and look admiringly on as you skip up the ones and dash through the others." And again: "I hope you are benefited by the week of entire mental quiescence my company afforded you. You may be sure I esteemed the privilege of a few days of your company quite as highly as though I had been able to wrestle with you on the most abstruse philosophical topics, and prove every position of yours regarding the doctrines of Kant and Hegel absolutely false."

Horace Bushnell writes him on taking the presidency: "I hope you will give all due attention to the possible

new departure. Something may be gained for culture, I have no doubt, by the scientific studies, and there is a work to be filled here for the apologetic defenses of religion that may be of immense service, provided the science is duly sobered by modesty. At the same time I am free to say that there is nothing so fruitful in the real culture of mind as the practical drill of language and linguistic criticism. Would that every human soul could know how much and what there is for it in language."

Francis Lieber sends him one of his books, hoping it may be of interest to him as philosopher and as citizen of the great Republic. "Even to the lexicographer it will have some interest. I eschew all unnecessary new words, but I insist upon it that a living language is not only a language spoken by living people, but itself a living, therefore changing, expanding thing. Whenever I have to name a distinct idea, I do not hesitate to make a new word if I can do it. You may remember my word *jural* in my *Political Ethics*. It is now used in England and here. . . . We allow only the naturalists to make new words, as if they alone had to express new ideas. Nothing is so odious as a reckless Jacobin in language, nothing more pedantic than the man who imagines that Dr. Johnson has shut the prison door on language, and as it were, robbed *me* of my *tongue*."

Mark Hopkins thanks him for inscribing to him his book on Kant; "for so inscribing it, and also for a better understanding of Kant than I ever expected to have. When I was elected as Professor, I bought a poor translation of Kant, but soon gave it up in despair, and have

not attempted him since. How you have had the patience to follow him in all his doublings and inconsistencies I do not understand, and can only thank you for the light that your doing so throws on the general theory of morals. The movement is slow, but I cannot but think it is toward a general agreement on these vexed questions that will ultimately be reached."

Dr. Bellows writes him — date uncertain, but before the use of envelopes — "I am satisfied that it is impossible for a man to understand that form of religion which he has not received into his own heart. You think you understand our Christianity, but you do not. I suppose I am equally ignorant of your Calvinism, though I understand the Calvinism of the books. If we could live with each other a few weeks we should find out that we each had a way of holding his particular views which included all that was very true or very valuable in the other's. Thank you heartily for all your good and earnest words and all your catholic and friendly spirit. When will you make me a visit?"

Long after, in 1877, Dr. Bellows writes him in full sympathy with his criticism on Tyndall. "It seems to me quite unanswerable, and I should think would give pause, if anything could, to the precipitate and presumptuous current of these materialists, who are so regardless of the mud in the stream on which they are carrying off the spiritual hopes and trusts of humanity. It is plain to me that religious and Christian men are capable of doing a far more complete justice to the physicists than the ablest and best of *them* can do to the

ideas and faith of Christian believers. There is a fearful narrowing of the philosophic and spiritual instincts and perceptions produced by looking at things through the microscope. . . . I heard with sympathy and interest your speech at the Pilgrim dinner. I should be sorry to believe that anything you claimed for Yale was not substantially true of Cambridge, in the value set upon the tendency of all studies to produce upright and Christian character. Yet unquestionably there is a danger in *all* our colleges lest the scientific should be divorced from the philosophic spirit."

Rufus Ellis invites his "dear friend" — in that old-fashioned chirography which was so deliciously like the man — to the 250th anniversary of the First Church of Boston — an invitation which was gladly accepted. "We expect to hear from descendants of Winthrop and Cotton — R. C. Winthrop and Phillips Brooks — my brother and others, and we want to hear from you as from President Eliot. You know y^e old relations between New Haven and Boston, Davenport and y^e rest, and then yours is, with Harvard, y^e New England college. So you must come."

In the days when the "Autocrat" tilted valiantly against Orthodoxy, no one was readier to break a lance with him than Dr. Porter. They exchanged greetings at a later time, and Dr. Holmes's letter (December 13, 1879) is too good to abridge.

"This letter is written on Sunday, but you will take it for granted, in the exercise of Christian charity, that it was written after 'sundown.'

"I must thank you for your very pleasant and kindly letter to our friends who gave us all a breakfast on the 3d. I should hardly have felt happy without a letter from my father's college, with the memories and traditions of which I was familiar from my earliest years. The portrait of President Stiles hung over the mantel-piece of my father's study. The profile of Governor Yale was on the cover of the snuff-box from which my father took his Maccaboy — helping the Lorillards out of *pinching* obscurity, if not poverty, into coach-driving opulence and horse-racing celebrity.

"I thank you for giving me a good character with my Orthodox friends, who will be glad to learn that I am so much of a Calvinist. In one point, however, Calvin was far too lax for me. You remember that John Knox found him playing skittles on Sunday — a thing which I am too much of a Puritan to do — not that my belief goes against it, but my Sabbatical prejudices do.

"In the matter of predestination I come nearer the old reformer and vivi-cremationist, only there are certain corollaries which I should deduce from my partial acceptance of the doctrine — for it is only partial as at present advised — which would have made me a candidate for the kind offices of the Genevan turnspit.

"I began this letter with the simple design of thanking you for your pleasant words about me, but I find it is getting vivacious, and I must remember that this is (or was) according to our New England metonymy, 'the Sabbath,' and sign myself, with proper sobriety, with much respect and esteem,

"Yours very truly, O. W. HOLMES."

In the huge piles of old letters that filled Dr. Porter's drawers and pigeon-holes are many from friends across the sea. There are long letters in German from Niebuhr's daughter, Madame Rathgen, and discussions of German theology from Dr. Hellferich. Dr. Henry Allon writes often and at length of English church and state. There are long and interesting letters from Dr. James Frazier. Matthew Arnold, Edward Freeman, Professor Calderwood, Thomas Hughes, are among the correspondents,—it is impossible to name them all. Allusions are constant to the hospitality of Dr. Porter's home. James Anthony Froude writes: "Among my many agreeable reminiscences of America, none equal my impressions of New Haven and of the goodness which you all showed me there." A bishop-elect—a man of apostolic spirit—writes freely of the feelings with which he approaches the office. "I am to be consecrated on March 25th. You will have received this letter before then: think of me on that day when you are on your knees."

Not least in interest are some letters from friends he never saw. Here is one from Lucy Smith, with a message to another old acquaintance: "As we go down the hill we require for ourselves so little, and the mere words 'Well, and not forgetting,' from another traveler give us a sense of satisfaction. How insatiate the young heart is! All things beautiful in their season, and all ordered—I must believe—by an Infinite Power of which we can never think so justly as under the idea of *Love*."

The revered and beloved Thomas Erskine of Linlathen writes in reply to a letter sent during Dr. Porter's second visit to England (with Mr. Henry Farnam) in 1866: "I am now an old man, seventy-eight years of age, and becoming blind of a cataract so that I cannot read. . . . It is now forty-five years since that little book to which you refer was published, and what a change has come over the world of thought as well as over the outward aspect of things during that period! It becomes daily more and more evident that truth is no longer to be held on authority, but on its own discerned truthfulness. . . . I should like to know whether the belief that God's purpose of educating men will continue beyond this life until its accomplishment in all cases, is gaining ground with you. I believe that the righteous Father must eternally seek the righteousness of his children — and therefore that He will seek them diligently until He find them."

In his later years Dr. Porter's friendships if not warmer were perhaps somewhat more free and full in expression. He was not a demonstrative man, as to his deeper feelings, — rather, perhaps, one of those natures in whom deepened feeling hushes expression. Said one lady who knew him long: "I was always sure of his friendship, and charmed by his society, but outwardly he was cool — his hand clasp was limp. But in later years, in his greeting and in little signs I felt a cordial nearness." With the senior publisher of Webster's Dictionary he had for many years a friendship full of mutual services and mutual enjoyment, but it was only when he felt that his

old friend was nearing the end that he spoke out freely of the deepest and dearest things, so that he left behind him a radiant face, — “I wouldn’t have missed that talk with Mr. Porter for all I’m worth! It was so elevating, so satisfying! If I never see him again, I have had the best.”

In his bearing there was great simplicity — the same with high and low. When he received his degree at the University of Edinburgh, an observer noted the peculiar ease of his manner, — gracious, composed, half-smiling. Plain people and little children were attracted to him. Coming home from college one day, he suddenly broke into a laugh. “On my way to chapel,” he said, “I became conscious of some one at my side, and looking down I saw a ragged little Irish boy trotting along beside me. It was raining, and he had taken shelter under my umbrella. He went with me as far as the college, — he said nothing, and I said nothing, but we were very good company!”

In these later and more leisurely years, his service to the local community was especially apparent. At an earlier time, amid the cares of the presidency, he was one of the prime movers in the noble enterprise of making a public park of East Rock. He was active in the work of the society for the prevention of crime. He went repeatedly before the judiciary committee of the legislature, to support laws which were needed, and labored successfully with others to secure the refusal of licenses to unfit applicants. His place in the community was described by Dr. Munger in his memorial sermon.

"Chiefly, however, I speak of Dr. Porter because he was our first citizen. The foremost man in such a community as ours is not always the man who chances to hold the highest office. The leading American citizen is a man of character, of wisdom, of intelligence and cultivation. He must have those large and commanding qualities that win respect and confidence; and if he happens to occupy an exalted position and to have a name in wider circles, as did our friend, then we turn to him with that loyalty and homage which citizens of a free country may render to one of their number. President Porter lived in this city forty-six years. Though holding no public office, he let the full influence of his name and character and thought and effort be felt on all occasions when the public interests seemed to demand it. He had the traditional New England conception of citizenship."

He had also the true New England appreciation of the right place and use of material wealth. He fairly measured its value when he was advising young men as to their life-work. For himself he declined without hesitation offers of large payment for work which would withdraw him from his chosen field. But he took excellent care of his property. He was thrifty, a good manager and wise investor, and commanded the respect of business men in their own field.

He was a type of the late flowering of the old New England stock. The roots of that stock were fidelity to the highest known law, and trust in a divine guidance; and its two-fold stem was a firm grip on the material

world side by side with a searching inquiry into the unseen. For two centuries it grew under harsh and narrow conditions, like a pine-tree resting on a granite boulder. Then the plant threw out its blossoms — intellectual freedom, love of beauty, and sympathy wide as the race.

The tranquil, busy, happy years of his retirement were not to go on to the end without shock. His wife's invalidism had scarcely lessened the support she gave him. She was indomitable, and would never yield to her malady. Always she appeared at breakfast with the others, — "Your father will never get up unless I do!" — and always she kept her place at the head of the table. Her husband used to tell her she was made of india-rubber. She had always added to his courage. She encouraged him to extempore speaking, as to which he was at first diffident, but became so proficient that he habitually "thought on his feet," and the listener often could not tell whether he was using notes. He always showed her the proof of his literary articles, and availed himself of her taste in their revision. Her nature never lost its buoyancy and confidence. She was strong in her convictions, and ardent in politics. A natural nurse, when the New Haven Training School for Nurses was established she became its president, and held the place for ten years until her death. No matter how feeble, she would go out to attend the meetings of the managers, and she would have the nurses visit her in squads to receive instructions.

But strength gave way at last. There was gradual failure for a year, then a ten-weeks' illness, and on the 14th of April, 1888, she died. For her husband it was the beginning of the end. He was never the same man again. In the following summer he made another journey to England with his two daughters—but in that resource no longer lay restorative power.

But he still bore himself stoutly, and the only change apparent was the loss of physical strength. There was no sudden failure, but a gradual loss of nervous power, especially affecting his hands and his throat. His fine and sonorous voice became very weak, and for the last year or two he could only make himself heard with difficulty. A general slowness of movement gave an impression of decrepitude.

But he went right on in his accustomed ways. He continued his teaching, his writing, and all his accustomed interests. His Adirondack haunts had been exchanged for the quiet scenery of Norfolk, Connecticut. Gradually his home walks were shortened and at last given up. He had kept an Adirondack boat on the Whitneyville pond, and it had given him one of his favorite recreations. "It is too much for me," he said to his daughters, "and there is Mr. Ladd"—his successor in the Clark professorship—"he needs exercise, he has two boys, and they will all enjoy it,—I have given it to him." So with his daughter he made a last visit to Whitneyville, walked laboriously to the boat, and gave careful directions for its complete repair for its new owner.

When in these years one met him the impression at first sight perhaps roused pity, which quickly gave way when the old spirit shone out unabated in his looks and talk. At home he never made complaint, beyond expressing regret at his inability to put on his overcoat. That sometimes kept him from making visits, or detained him in his college room after he wanted to leave.

His sympathy was as quick and perfect as ever. As of old, when you knocked at his door, and, bidden to enter, found him amid books and papers — you were met at once by cordial inquiry about yourself, your affairs, your family; he was interested to hear about each friend; he was pleased to know what you were doing, and fruitful in wise suggestion; — he made you for the hour an egotist, and you were not a bit ashamed that you had been.

The failure of his voice at last made teaching very difficult, and his friends sometimes urged him to desist. "But what can I do?" he would answer. "My hands will not let me write, and I cannot read all day just for amusement, — I must go on teaching." The list of his writings virtually ends two years before his death. The mind was as active as ever, but the hand could no longer guide the pen. So, one pleasure after another was cut off, and the round of activities steadily narrowed. Early friends had gone. "There is not a name on the college catalogue that was there when I became professor," he said. The wife was no longer by his side. Yet he bore himself steadily, cheerfully, to the end. Says Dr. Munger: "Some months before his death he took a drive

to East Rock, with myself, my wife, and his daughter. He could hardly speak above a whisper, but he was as full of fresh interest and pleasure as any young girl, — pleased with the fine horses, the loveliness of the scenery, and whatever offered. Existence seemed a joy to him."

On the afternoon of his eightieth birthday he held an examination of one of his classes. Early in 1892 he was confined to his bed. For eight weeks he lay quiet and passive, suffering little, seldom rousing to speak, and then on his wonted subjects and in choice phrase. His mind only wandered once, and then, the day before the end, waking suddenly, he said "Go call your mother — wake her up — I want to consult with her." That was the old familiar want. On the 4th of March, 1892, he quietly passed away. His face was beautiful in its last repose. Upon it the years had written the story of power, benignity and wisdom, and in death it wore a look of youth.

In the college chapel fresh young voices sang hymns not of sorrow but of triumph. President Dwight spoke just and tender words. In the cemetery, between the college and the home of his love, the body was laid to rest.

At the Alumni meeting in the summer, among other tributes was an address by ex-Governor Chamberlain, in which he said: "I saw him last in his own house, for a few moments, in 1889. The shrewd wit, the ample wisdom, the calm philosophy, the eager, broad outlook, all were there undimmed; but above these qualities

shone clear the faith in Divine things which had always guided him. As I took my leave, he asked if I had read a little poem then freshly published, — Tennyson's *Crossing the Bar*. Without an allusion, save possibly in the tones of his voice, to their application to himself, he softly and slowly and with exquisite cadence repeated the last two verses :

“Twilight, and evening bell,
And after that the dark !
And may there be no sadness of farewell
When I embark ;

“For though from out our bourne of Time and Place
The flood may bear me far,
I hope to see my Pilot face to face
When I have crossed the bar.”

PRESIDENT PORTER AS A PHILOSOPHER.

(Including an Outline of his System.)

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE M. DUNCAN.

PRESIDENT PORTER's labors were not confined to any single part of the wide field of philosophy. He was a philosophical critic, just in his appreciation yet unsparing in his criticism; a philosophical controversialist, delighting in attack and in defense; an historian of philosophy, judicial in his estimates of men and their work and keen in following the influence of a philosophical doctrine; a psychologist of high rank, making a patient and scientific study of the intricate problems of man's inner being; a moralist, seeking in the nature of man as a spiritual being the foundations of an ethical system which would be secure against speculative attacks and exempt from practical weakness; a philosophical essayist, writing on popular themes with an eye to their deeper significance and on philosophical themes with a full consciousness of their practical bearings; a metaphysician, never losing sight of the supremest questions; and, finally, a teacher of philosophy in all its branches, a master in all, speaking always from abundant knowledge and after mature thought and in a spirit of transparent honesty. We shall try to indicate to the non-philosophical readers of this volume some of the more im-

portant conclusions reached by President Porter as a philosopher. Philosophy was the chosen subject of his life-long and fruitful labor, but anything like a detailed treatment and critical estimate of his work in this department is precluded by the space at command and the aim of this volume.

Descartes, at the beginning of the modern period in philosophy, wrote: "Let a man propose to himself, as a problem, the investigation of all the truths that the human mind is capable of knowing,"—the explanation of the totality of things, the universe in which he is and of which he forms a part,— "a problem which, in my opinion, all those who are in earnest in their desire to attain wisdom, ought, at least once in their lives, to propose to themselves; he will find that the first thing to be known is intelligence itself,"— the mind or knowing subject,— "since upon this depends the knowledge of all other things and not *vice versa*. . . . There is here no question more important to be settled than to know *what human knowledge is, and how far it extends*, two things which we combine in one and the same question, which must first of all be methodically investigated. This is a question which a man must examine once in his life, if he has the least love for truth; since its investigation comprehends the whole of method, and, as it were, the organon of knowledge. Nothing appears to me more absurd than boldly to argue concerning the mysteries of nature, the influence of the stars, the secrets of the future, without once having raised the question whether the human mind is

competent to these things.”¹ Locke, in the first chapter of his great *Essay*, and Kant, in the introduction of the *Critique of Pure Reason*, reaffirm this position laid down by Descartes. The post-Kantian philosophical schools of Germany ignored this — the problem of *Knowing* — and devoted their energies to the vain attempt to deal with the problem of *Being* on a speculative and not on a psychological basis; — with what results, the history of philosophy tells us.

The position of Descartes, Locke and Kant, President Porter regards as of the utmost importance. A scientific study of the mind, he insists, is the only proper introduction to the profound questions concerning the origin and destiny of man, the metaphysics of nature, and the existence and nature of the Absolute. Turn to whatever subject you will, you are led back to questions concerning *the knowing subject, the nature, the reach and the certainty of the knowing act*. “No maxim,” he writes, “deserves to be recorded by the student of philosophy in letters more clear and bright than this: ‘The man who seeks to enter the temple of Philosophy by any other approach than the vestibule of psychology, can never penetrate into its inner sanctuary.’ ”²

President Porter’s contribution to psychology is contained mainly in his truly monumental work, *The Human Intellect*; a work incomparably superior to any treatise on psychology in English existing at the time when it appeared. It rendered an inestimable service

¹ *Œuvres*, ed. Cousin, tome ii, pp. 243, 245.

² *The Human Intellect*, p. 60.

in placing, for the first time, within the reach of the English student the means of thoroughly acquainting himself with the stores of German learning, speculative and scientific, on the themes of which it treats. When the work was written German speculative philosophy, although imperfectly known, was beginning to exert a powerful influence on English and American philosophical and theological thought; the Associational philosophy and psychology, as represented by the writings of J. S. Mill and Alexander Bain, was at the height of its power in Great Britain; the psychology of the Hamiltonian school was taught in most of our colleges, and Hamilton's metaphysical views, especially in their application to theology, were creating heated controversy; the theory of evolution had been applied to the phenomena of mind by Mr. Spencer; the importance of physiological inquiry to the exposition of mind had been emphasized by Carpenter, Maudsley and others; the schools of Herbart and Beneke, in Germany, had produced many valuable treatises on the mind, which, popularized by Morrell and others, were beginning to exert an influence in England; Lotze, Fechner, and Wundt, following Weber, were laying the foundations of physiological and experimental psychology. President Porter's work presents and critically examines the results of these and all previous labors in the field of psychology. It is a thesaurus of its subject, containing in outline the results of the best thinking which had been done in all ages about the human mind. It was very truly said to be, on the whole, the one book in existence

from which, read singly, the student could get a clear idea of psychology as a science, both in a systematic form and in its history, and the position and tendencies of each philosophical school with relation to it. One feature of the work deserves especial notice — its *scientific*, as distinguished from a philosophical or speculative, character. This is especially marked in the discussion of such subjects as the relation of the soul to the body ; the phenomena of sleep, dreams and hypnotism ; and the problem of sense-perception, in treating which the latest researches of Weber, Lotze and Wundt are presented.

President Porter treats psychology as an inductive science, entirely independent of metaphysical theories and methods. "He who attempts," he says, "to construct psychology by the aid and under the direction of a metaphysical system, contradicts the order by which both psychology and philosophy are developed and acquired."¹ He severely censures Hegel and other metaphysicians for doing this, and insists that the study of metaphysics should follow after the study of the mind, inasmuch as it is in the analysis of the power to know, that we are supposed first to discover what it is to know, and especially what are the objects and relations which are essential to science ; in other words, what conceptions and relations are philosophically valid as axioms and postulates of scientific knowledge. On the other hand, he rejects entirely the notion of reaching mental science by extending the methods and laws of

¹ *The Human Intellect*, p. 60.

material science. "Consciousness," he declares, "is the source from which the materials with which psychology has to do are directly derived, and it is the facts of consciousness which psychology primarily and almost exclusively seeks to arrange in a scientific method, and to explain by scientific principles. But, indirectly, sense-perception comes to the aid and support of consciousness, as physiology furnishes that knowledge of the functions and states of the body which prepare the objects of the sense-perceptions, and are the essential conditions of the development and the activity of the soul. The facts of this class are attested by the senses and interpreted by induction, and are in all respects subject to the laws and methods of the other sciences of matter. Both these classes of facts must be considered in conjunction, must be observed with attention, must be analyzed into their ultimate elements, must be compared, classed, and interpreted according to the methods which are common to it and the other inductive sciences."¹ To make, however, that which, as source and as instrument, is subsidiary, usurp the place of that which is chief, as many of the "modern," "experimental," and forsooth "only scientific" psychologists do, he declares could but impede the advancement of, if indeed it did not subvert, the true and strictly scientific study of the mind. While enthusiastic in welcoming and liberal in appreciating all the help that physiological and experimental investigations could render psychology, and while friendly toward the so-called physiological and experimental psychology

¹ *The Human Intellect*, p. 52.

when kept within its proper sphere, he felt that great harm was likely to result from extending the methods and laws and analogies of the material sciences to psychical phenomena. "We insist," he writes, "that psychology should be studied with a constant reference to physiology."¹ But he denies altogether that there is such a correspondence between vital and mental activity, that the laws of the one will help us to throw light upon the laws of the other. On the contrary, he asserts that the consideration of the *differences* between the two is of prime importance, and that the study of the laws of life are of chief value to the psychologist as they draw his attention to, and bring out in more striking relief, the peculiar and essential differences of the mental activities. "Indeed, we apprehend," he writes, "that true science is as really promoted by the discovery of differences, as it is by the establishment of resemblances, whether of fact or of law. We think, moreover, that in confirmation of this principle, it could readily be shown from the history of psychology itself, that its slow beginning at the first, and its tardy progress, were owing most of all to the unsound analogies which it borrowed from the current physiology. Its slow advances since are, we think, to be ascribed to the persistent purpose of its devotees to depend on material, and in their turn vital analogies for illustration and proof, which has excluded the rational impulse and desire to do full justice to its own independent and self-sufficing phenomena and laws.

¹ *The Principles of Mental Philosophy*, Am. Presb. & Theol. Rev., S., vol. 2, p. 280.

. . . The more nearly the two sciences are allied, the more imperative is the necessity that the alliance does not become so intimate as to be entangling and hurtful.”¹ The writer well remembers some weighty words on this subject to which President Porter gave utterance in a conversation in Paris, shortly after he resigned the presidency. He substantially anticipated the recent declaration of Mr. James Ward: “If physiological psychology is to be kept within limits, it must be preceded by a psychology that is not physiological, one in which the fundamental conceptions of the science are systematically and independently ascertained. What, for example, have religious feelings or the free-will controversy or metaphysical hypotheses concerning the essence of the soul to do with physiology?” “It is fearfully hard to define what we mean by Subject, Object, Presentation, Feeling, Judgment, Belief, Memory, Volition; but till these and cognate conceptions are clear and distinct, psychology must be at a standstill, let psychophysics advance as much as it may.”²

The central problem for Dr. Porter was the problem of knowledge — its origin, nature, extent, validity. Does all knowledge come from experience — inner and outer sense — ; or must we add another source, viz., the constitution of the knowing subject? Does knowledge begin with *simple ideas* as its elements, as Locke claimed; or is the simple idea the product of analysis? Does the mind begin with an undifferentiated object, a complex awaiting

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Mind*, S., i, p. 537, and ii., p. 56.

analysis; or with elements awaiting union? Is the primitive act of knowledge to be represented by the judgment; or is it expressed by the term? Is knowledge from the start, in all its forms and essentially, a product of the mind's own activity; or something imported into the mind? Are we cognizant of phenomena only; or of realities, powers, things in themselves? Is all knowledge only of relations; or is it also of things related, beings in relations? What is the nature of memory? What is the agent in the revival of our ideas, and according to what laws are they associated? What is the nature and ground of the inductive process? Are the ultimate forms of thought merely subjective? Is knowledge trustworthy and valid? Is real certainty possible? Such questions are *fundamental*; upon the answers to them will depend our metaphysics of nature and our metaphysics of mind, and to them empirical psychology inevitably leads. Materialism, pantheism, idealism, in fact all systems, must stand or fall according to the answers they give to these central questions concerning knowledge. President Porter clearly perceived this and his scientific studies in psychology were all directed toward the solution of these questions, and the answers which these scientific studies gave him were the touchstone by which he tested all systems philosophical and theological. With him, then, the problem of KNOWING was first and fundamental.

Having laboriously thought out his answers analytically, in presenting them he uses the synthetic method and boldly asks, "What is it to know?" In answering

this question he affirms that *knowledge is an activity of the mind*; that in knowing, the soul is *active*. He never tires of reiterating and emphasizing this position. Locke taught that "the mind is wholly passive in the reception of all its simple ideas, the elements of all knowledge"; and he compared it to "white paper devoid of any characters," "an empty cabinet," and "a dark room." This fatal tendency to regard the mind in knowing as passive, took exclusive possession of Locke's successors, Hume and Hartley, and through them it passed on to both the Mills. "They never ceased to regard and treat the human soul as in all its processes entirely passive,—alike in its reception of its impressions from without and in the revival of these impressions from within by memory and imagination, as eminently in those interpretations of truth which are gained by generalization and reasoning. Through the Mills it has been fixed more firmly than ever in the unconscious and the acknowledged methods of many able and influential schools of the present generation."¹ Especially prevalent is this conception among the "new psychologists" of to-day. Such dogmas as that all the higher processes of the intellect are capable of being resolved into the so-called association of ideas; and, again, that the law of necessity holds good of the phenomena of spirit as truly as of the phenomena of matter, are also fruits of this doctrine. Against all this President Porter insists that to *know* is an operation of the soul in which it is pre-eminently active. "In

¹ *John Stuart Mill as a Philosopher*, in *Science and Sentiment*, pp. 130, 131.

knowing, we are not so much recipients as actors. We do not merely submit to the impressions which are made upon the senses or the mind from without. Nor are we the passive subjects of the mechanical operations of ideas already acquired, as they come and go by an independent force and movement of their own, as they intrude, break upon or elude the memory and fancy in seeming caprice or wantonness. We do not generalize, reason, or believe, according as certain relations do or do not choose to suggest themselves. But in all states of knowledge the soul itself energizes or acts, in the ways or methods which are provided for by its original endowments."¹ One of the most important chapters in *The Human Intellect* is the one in which he traces the activity of the soul in sense-perception, where its activity is most likely to be overlooked or denied.

In considering further the nature of knowledge, President Porter affirms that knowledge does not begin with the simple idea, but that the simple idea is the result of analysis. Locke declared that *the unit of consciousness* is the simple idea; that although the qualities of things exist in the things themselves so united and blended that there is no separation among them, "yet it is plain that the ideas they produce in the mind *enter by themselves simple and unmixed*."² Our mental history then becomes the history of the formation of complex ideas out of these "constituent elements of mind," by "fusion," "association" or "indissoluble connection"; and the main busi-

¹ *The Human Intellect*, p. 61.

² Locke, *Essay C, Human Understanding*, Bk. 2, ch. 2, sec. 1.

ness of the psychologist consists in analyzing these compounds into their original elements and formulating the laws of coalescence in accordance with which they are formed. We begin with a plurality of elements and end with unity; the elements are sensations or simple ideas; the unities arrived at are the compounds or aggregates. President Porter regards this account as a complete inversion of the truth. "The mind," he writes, "does not find itself in possession of its materials, it knows not how, — as 'the contents of the mind,' as impressions or ideas, nor even as relations, — and then proceed to compound them into knowledge; but it finds things or entities in combination, or related together, and proceeds subsequently to decompose them into ideas, and to express these ideas in language. . . . So it is of all experiences or mental activities; they are known to exist, and not only are known to exist, but to exist in relations to one another. *They are necessarily and uniformly given in combination.*"¹ The question is this, Must the mind exercise the act of knowledge in *gaining* what are called its contents, *i.e.*, its elementary states, whether these are impressions, ideas or relations; or must it first *possess* these elements before it proceeds to unite them in an act of knowledge? "This question," writes Dr. Porter, "we affirm to be the most important question which could possibly be proposed for an answer," "the cardinal question in all philosophy."² He would agree,

¹ Huxley's *Exposition of Hume's Philosophy*, rep. in *Science and Sentiment*, p. 306.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 304, 305.

therefore, with James Martineau when he declares that "experience proceeds and intellect is trained, not by Association, but by *Dissociation*, not by reduction of pluralities of impression to one, but by the opening out of one into many; and a true psychological history must expound itself in analytic rather than in synthetic terms. Precisely those ideas — of Substance, of Mind, of Cause, of Space — which this system [of Locke and the Associationists] treats as infinitely complex, the last result of myriads of confluent elements, are in truth residuary simplicities of consciousness, whose stability [analysis, discrimination, and] the eddies and currents of phenomenal experience have left undisturbed."¹

So far, then, from the simple idea being the unit of consciousness, President Porter affirms that the judgment is the unit — *all knowledge begins in a judgment*. He once said to the writer, "It is a *vital* truth in the theory of knowledge that the mind *begins* with a *judgment* and afterwards by *analysis* reaches the simple concept;" and he referred approvingly to the statement of Reid that instead of saying that knowledge is got by putting together and comparing the *simple apprehensions*, we ought rather to say that the simple apprehension is performed by resolving and analyzing a natural and original judgment. "Simple apprehension, therefore, though it be the simplest, is not the first operation of the understanding; and, instead of saying that the more complex operations of the mind are formed by compounding simple apprehensions, we ought rather to say, that

¹ *Essays, Philosophical and Theological*, First Series, p. 273.

simple apprehensions are got by analyzing more complex notions.”¹ This position, that the mind begins with propositions which are subsequently analyzed into subject, predicate, and copula, is often insisted on in *The Human Intellect*. “The proposition is the proper expression for all acts of knowledge. All knowledge implies the apprehension of some relation, and is therefore an act of judgment.”² President Porter distinguishes, with Mansel, between these psychological judgments and logical judgments.

In knowing, President Porter declares, *we are cognitive of reality* : knowledge is certainty of being. This is a position which he regards as overthrowing a host of errors. *Phenomenalism* is the term which may be applied to much of the speculative and scientific thinking of the century, having been popularized by Kant. This doctrine in brief is as follows : “When we face the sense-world, we do not discern things or realities, but only phenomena, as sights, feels, and smells, etc. So in the spirit world we are conscious only of sensations, imaginations, and thoughts, but not of *ourselves* as seeing, hearing, remembering, or imagining. What men are accustomed to conceive as realities by eminence, *i.e.*, the realities of the material world, and mayhap in the view of some, the realities of spirit — these are only phenomena as contrasted with things in themselves, *i.e.*, solid realities. These things in themselves, *Dinge an sich*, remain ever beyond our reach, ever eluding our grasp.

¹ Reid's *Works*, Hamilton's ed., vol. i, p. 376 ; cf. p. 106.

² *The Human Intellect*, p. 505 ; cf. pp. 65, 92, 430, 501, etc.

We come nearest to these when we seem to be conscious of our own ego or self, but even then we find that what we seize is but an illusion — an illusion of thought or a figure of speech. However imposing and complicated these may seem to be, they are only *phenomena*, suggesting, it may be, the *noumena*, the things which can never be reached.”¹ In opposition to Kant, Hamilton, Spencer and the whole school of phenomenologists and relativists, who assert this view, President Porter teaches that knowledge and being are correlatives: subjectively viewed, to know involves certainty; objectively, it requires reality. The thinking agent, he declares, is known to and by itself as a *thing in itself*, i.e., a potent and permanent and identical *reality*, and, indeed, that it must be so known in order that any contrast should even be suspected by the mind between a thing in itself and its manifestations or phenomena. In a masterly passage he contends that over against Kant’s jealous and violent efforts to deny the knowableness of the soul as an agent with a definite nature of its own, he would set the whole argument of the *Critique* itself, from beginning to end, so far as it defends and expounds transcendental idealism. “We contend,” he writes, “that its doctrines of the forms of sense, and of the categories of the understanding, and the ideas of the reason, are, from beginning to end, a series of psychological conclusions or assumptions in respect to the nature of the soul as a *thing in itself*. They not only imply and assert that the soul has an essential nature, but that this essential nature is know-

¹ Kant’s *Ethics*, pp. 20, 21.

able by man. They not only in fact, but by profession, penetrate beneath its phenomena, and find there a nature or constitution capable of moulding the universe of sense and matter by subjective forms, categories, and ideas. They propose to show that *all* the knowledge which man can attain is only *phenomenal*, and this by an analysis into the nature of the *soul itself*. They find, beneath the forms, the categories, and the ideas, the soul with a nature which compels it to mould and connect and systematize and interpret the phenomena of the inner and outer universe by the relations and into the products which its own constitution requires. This is the logic of the entire treatise, etc.”¹ President Porter insists likewise on the reality of the *not-self*, and its knowableness by man as a thing in itself. Even if the senses are only receptive, they suppose reality in the matter which acts upon them. The receptivity of the senses supposes an agent which lies beyond and without, from the causative activity of which the recipient can never escape. To say that we are not sensitive to all the capacities of these agents, is to confess that we are finite. If we must know any of them *completely* in order that we may know anything at all, then we can know nothing of anything, whether material or spiritual.

President Porter claims, in opposition not only to Hume and the Lockean school, but in opposition also to Reid, Stewart and Hamilton, that we have an *immediate knowledge of the self*; that is, we cannot know the states or ideas—the phenomena—of the ego apart from the

¹ *The Kantian Centennial*, rep. in *Science and Sentiment*, p. 435.

ego manifested in them. This position, which is a justification of that just presented as well as a consequence of it, is one of great significance. "For my part," Hume declared, "when I enter most intimately into what I call *myself* I always stumble on some particular perception or other, of heat or cold, light or shade, love or hatred, pain or pleasure. I can never catch myself at any time without a perception, and never can observe anything but the perception."¹ "We are conscious," writes Stewart in a similar strain, "of sensation, thought, desire, volition, but we are not conscious of the existence of the mind itself."² The natural consequence of this denial of immediate knowledge of the self is such statements as Hume's, that "the mind *is* but a collection of perceptions or ideas," and J. S. Mill's that "my mind is a thread of consciousness," a "series of feelings with a background of possible feelings." The latest results of such a denial are the assertions that psychological analysis consists in seeking the "constituent elements of mind," and that for scientific psychology "the final word is: the thoughts themselves are the thinkers." President Porter's view is as follows: "Of the *ego* itself we are directly conscious. Not only are we conscious of the varying states and conditions, but we know them to be *our own states*, *i.e.*, each individual observer knows his changing individual states to belong to his individual self, or to himself, the individual. The states we know as varying and transitory. The self we know as un-

¹ Hume, *Treatise of Human Nature*, Green and Grose ed., p. 534.

² Stewart, *Phil. Essays*, p. 1, es. 1.

changed and permanent. It is of the very nature and essence of a psychical state to be the act or experience of an individual *ego*. We are not first conscious of the state or operation, and then forced to look around for a something to which it is to be *referred*, or to which it may belong. A mental state which is not produced or felt by an individual self, is as inconceivable as a triangle without three angles, or a square without four sides. This relation of the *act* to the *self* is not *inferred*, but is directly known. The fact of *memory* proves this beyond dispute.”¹ For how could memory be possible, if the first act or state, now recalled, was not known, when it occurred, to belong to the same *ego* which now recalls it? That is, to know an experience as *mine*, I must obtain the knowledge in the act of experience itself. Later than that, is too late. If I do not know a state as mine, I cannot refer it to the self; and if I do know it as mine, I have a knowledge which is superior to that obtained by any process of reference.² The fundamental fact of experience, therefore, for President Porter, is not sensations and thoughts exist, but *I feel*, *I think*. Here he seizes clearly the Cartesian position that not in thought as a *product* but in thought as an *activity*, *i.e.*, in the psychical activities or feeling, perceiving, willing, we know the actor or agent—the *I*. The ethical bearing of the denial of immediate knowledge of the self, did not escape President Porter’s notice. “If in consciousness,” he writes, “we are only aware of

¹ *The Human Intellect*, p. 95.

² Cf. Calderwood, *Handbook of Mor. Phil.*, 13 ed., p. 106.

the presence of psychical states, and cannot know their relations to one another or to the *agent* which originates them, then it is impossible that we can be conscious of any exercise of the power of *choice*.”¹ “Many philosophers hold,” writes Professor James, “that the reflective consciousness of the self is essential to the cognitive function of thought. They hold that a thought, in order to know a thing at all, must expressly distinguish between the thing and its own self. This is a perfectly wanton assumption, and not the faintest shadow of reason exists for supposing it true.”² President Porter’s position is not open to this charge; for he carefully distinguishes between *conceptual* self-knowledge and *self-consciousness*, between natural self-consciousness or *self-experience* and reflective self-consciousness giving us the philosophical and generalized *concept* of the self. “When we assert,” he writes, “that the soul is conscious of itself, the actor, as truly as of its states or acts, we by no means assert that it makes the ego an object of attention or *reflective thought*, or that it gains a scientific knowledge of its states or of its powers.”³ The distinction here made between the natural or spontaneous, and the reflective or philosophical consciousness, President Porter regards as of great importance. A self-experience or natural and spontaneous self-consciousness is at the basis of and is presupposed in our reflective knowledge *about* the self.

¹ *The Human Intellect*, p. 582.

² James, *The Principles of Psychology*, i, p. 274.

³ *The Human Intellect*, p. 96; cf. p. iii.

To the knowledge of the external and extended world — the problem of *perception* — President Porter devotes one-fifth of the entire *Human Intellect*. When the book appeared, his discussion of this perplexing question was the most elaborate to be found in the whole range of English philosophy. He manifests a thorough knowledge of the history of the problem — the views of early thinkers, — and a like familiarity with the recent British speculations of Hamilton, on the one hand, and of Mill, Bain, Spencer and the empiricists generally, on the other; as well as a thorough acquaintance with the latest inquiries of Müller, Weber, Lotze and Wundt in Germany. Besides this command of what had been done by others, he shows a clear discernment of the nature of the problem. His discussion throughout evinces marked ability both speculative and scientific.

To the unsophisticated mind nothing is so clearly known as matter or the world of extended things. We see and taste and handle them, and they are revealed to us in their inner and real natures; there is surely no mystery here. Nevertheless, the mind no sooner begins to reflect than this view, the view of "that common ignorance which passes by the name of common sense," is undermined. We soon realize that things are not as they seem. Hallucinations, illusions, dreams, bring this home to the reflecting mind. Again, a very little reflective knowledge suffices to convince all men of the subjectivity of the so-called secondary qualities of matter, such as heat, color and the like. Then appear thinkers such as Bishop Berkeley and insist that the same reason-

ing which proves the subjectivity of the secondary qualities, proves the same of the primary qualities, such as extension and impenetrability. And thus our most certainly known and most real world, that of the senses, seems to slip away from us. President Porter clearly recognizes and forcibly states the important truth that our doctrine on this subject will be largely determined by our fundamental conceptions as to the nature of the act of knowledge as such and our view of the knowing subject. We have a real knowledge of the knowing subject, the substantial ego; furthermore, our earliest knowledge is an experiencing or a "knowing that" rather than a reflective "knowing about"; the *primum cognitum* too is an undiscriminated somewhat, awaiting analysis. Bearing these things in mind we are prepared to advance.

The problem of perception, or of our knowledge of material things, may be stated in two ways. The first form of the problem is this: What is the *object* immediately known in sense-perception? This is the form in which the problem is handled by the older psychologists. The other form is this: Our present developed and mature consciousness concerning the objective world is a consciousness of a world of extra-mental, extended, discriminated, located and measured objects,—how have we come by this consciousness, how much of it is acquired and how much is original? This form of the problem concerns *the knowing* rather than *the object known*, and is the form in which the problem is approached by psychologists of to-day. President Porter

treats both forms of the problem ; the second particularly under the caption, "The development of sense-perception."

To the first or older form of the problem, viz., What is the *object* immediately known in perception? various answers have been given. It has been said that the object immediately known is not the material object, as common sense supposes, but only its representative image, idea, species, or resemblance; and this was conceived as something distinct from both the mind and the material object. The material object and the mind are, it was said, separated by the whole diameter of being. But like alone can know like, therefore the mind cannot know matter immediately but only through its representative image. From the representative image which stands between the mind and the object and is immediately known, the mind *infers* the material object. It was the legitimacy of this inference which Bishop Berkeley called in question. The philosopher Reid did for this absurd theory what Locke did for the extreme form of the doctrine of innate knowledge. Hamilton, after Reid had slain the giant, literally hacked the corpse to pieces. President Porter merely presents the results of past discussion on this theory and confines himself to the more recent views.

The second answer, the one which Dr. Porter accepts, is that known as immediate perception or natural realism. It affirms that there is no representative idea between the mind and the material object but that the mind *immediately by an inexplicable act of its own* knows

the object. "But," it is objected, "does the mind immediately perceive the distant sun or even yonder tree? Do not the errors of sense and the like prove that this is not so? What, then, is the object immediately perceived?" To this, the answer was made, by some natural realists, that the mind directly knows the sensorium or body, objects in immediate contact with the body, and *some* objects at a distance; by others, that the mind immediately knows the sensorium and objects in immediate contact with it, but not objects at a distance. President Porter's answer is that the only object immediately known is the body, or, more strictly, the sensorium. "What the soul directly perceives—*i.e.*, distinguishes from itself—is its own sensitive organism, so far as it is excited to sensation. This is that which it knows to be not itself, even though it knows that in sensation it is intimately connected with it."¹ "But what!" it may be objected, "when I grasp a pebble or an ivory ball, or a stick, is all that I perceive as external to myself simply the sensorium excited by the object grasped? Is this the *non-ego* which I perceive, and this only?" We reply, that this is the only *non-ego* which we perceive by direct and original perception. But do we not perceive also the object which produces these sensations? Do we not directly perceive the surface of the pebble, the ball, or the stick? *Not by immediate perception.* If we did, it would involve the inference that we have "immediate perception of two *non-egos*—the sensorium excited, and the object exciting the

¹ *The Human Intellect*, p. 132.

sensorium. This is possible, but it must be shown to be necessary. We prefer the theory that externality in the second sense — *i.e.*, the distinction of the not-body from the body — is discerned not by an original, but by an acquired perception, as will be explained in its place.”¹ But we should carefully notice that this immediate and original knowledge of the extra-mental and extended in the form of the excited sensorium, is more properly a “knowing *that*” than a “knowing *about*,” perception and not apperception, a knowing that is still needing reflective analysis.

Now, on the confession of all, most of our knowledge of the extended is acquired or inferential. Nine-tenths of our so-called direct perceptions are, as J. S. Mill puts it, not direct perceptions at all but *inferences*. If then we can explain how the mind, *granting it, to start with, an immediate knowledge of the body as extended, hence of matter in three dimensions and space*, comes by or gains a knowledge of the extra-bodily world, *i.e.*, the world of objects in contact with the organism and at a distance from it, President Porter’s view is by far the most philosophical and is established. It is the most tenable of the forms of immediate perception; and is expounded with great clearness and ably defended.

A third answer to the problem, in its first form, is that called the subtler form of the representative theory and it might well be called the *subjectivist* theory, in that it teaches that we know *directly* only our subjective states or modifications. Inverting the doctrine just de-

¹ *The Human Intellect*, p. 151.

scribed that perception is the apprehension of a real external and extended object, it describes the act of perception as an ejection, reference or eccentric projection out of the mind of a sensation, or complex of sensations, carrying with it a cluster of faint representations of other past sensations, the whole being "integrated," "fused," or "solidified" in the form of an object. The tendency of this view is to make of perception a complex process or a congeries of acts. The theory is held by psychologists who differ greatly; by Kantians and intuitionists, on the one hand, and by extreme empiricists, on the other; the difference being mainly due to a more or less rich endowment or original constitution ascribed to the knowing subject. The intuitionists regard "space" as a "mental form," and the space characteristic as an element added by the mind to the original non-spatial sensations; while the empiricists affirm that *extension* is itself generated by or out of the sensations as non-spatial and merely temporal experiences. The following is a concise statement of this theory from an intuitionist: "Sensations are produced in us, and associate according to certain laws. The mind next reacts upon these by classifying and distinguishing them, and finally 'objectifies' them under the forms of space and time, of cause and effect, and of substance and attribute. Our objectified representations constitute for us the external world. To perceive the outer world we must construct it in thought. The mind can never grasp the object other than through the conception; and the object exists for the mind only through the conception. Hence our

knowledge of the outer world arises only as we form certain conceptions and objectify their contents in independent existence.”¹

“All these and every other theory of the sort,” writes President Porter, in speaking of earlier statements of this sort, “have one common weakness — that they require us, by some arrangement or series of combinations of sensations purely subjective, to account for or develop an objective, *i.e.*, an external non-*ego*. But it is obvious that it is not the greater or less positiveness of a subjective sensation, nor any change in the order of such sensations which will elicit a non-*ego*, if it be not immediately discerned by the mind itself.”² “In sense-perception,” he declares, “the intellect must know something more than effects, (*viz.*, the specific sensations, as of touch, sight, etc.), for which it assumes an unknown *cause*, *viz.*, the producer of these felt effects. . . . The process of *inferring* them [the external objects] as unknown causes of known effects, or as ‘possibilities of sensation,’ is too awkward to be received, and is beyond the capacities of the infant mind. They must be known by *direct* knowledge as *beings producing sensations* if the mind, when it compares the one agent with the other in indirect or reflex knowledge and applies to both the category of causation, is to be assured that there are *two* beings whose causative attributes it may determine. In sense-perception, the mind apprehends matter or material being. In touch, the mind does more than experience hardness

¹ B. P. Bowne, *Introd. to Psychological Theory*, p. 258.

² *The Human Intellect*, p. 151.

which is intensified into a painful sensation by pressure ; it does more than experience the muscular sensations which attend the use of the locomotive or muscular power ; it knows *matter as being*, just as truly as it knows the *ego as being*. . . . If we did not know them both to be, we should not seek to assign their respective attributes to each. We should not seek to separate the agency of each in the effects in which both are coefficients. We say, then, without reserve, that the mind in sense-perception, knows matter or material being as truly and as directly as in consciousness it knows the *ego*, or mental being.”¹

The second form of the problem of perception we have said concerns our consciousness of the world of objects — from what beginnings, in what order, and by what steps have we come by our present consciousness of a world of clearly discriminated, tri-dimensionally extended, extra-mental objects, objects with their relative sizes noted and they themselves definitely located in the midst of surrounding extents of which the world consists? By the confession of all psychologists much of this is acquired, is not in the original primitive perceptive consciousness. The problem is, How much of this is original and underived, and how much is acquired? There are here two most important questions. The one is, Is our original perceptive consciousness of the *objective sort* or do we *begin* with a purely *subjective* consciousness? The other is, In what order and by what steps do we pass from the primitive consciousness,

¹ *The Human Intellect*, p. 636.

whatever it be, to our present consciousness of a world of distinctly discriminated objects? We are here to analyze our perceptive states and processes until we reach their simplest elements, those which our subtlest and ultimate analysis can distinguish, but cannot divide; then we are to trace the development of perception. President Porter's position is that the primitive perceptive act is a simple immediate cognition of the external and extended; that is, that our earliest, most primitive and least developed consciousness is of the objective sort; that analyze as we may, we can never get back to a *purely subjective consciousness*, and that out of a purely subjective consciousness, if posited, we never could get our present objective consciousness. "No number of sensations," he writes, "can, by the circumstance that they are experienced together, evolve any relation of *extension*, unless they give extension when experienced alone. No addition of zeros will make a unit; no multiplication of breadthless lines will give breadth; *no experience of a number of extensionless sensations will suggest extension.*"¹ He insists that synthesis and combination cannot account for everything. There must be original elements with which to begin; and there must also be capacities or powers of original knowledge, beyond or behind which we cannot go in our analysis. "Otherwise the problem would be — given the power to know nothing by original activity, show how everything can be known by the simple force of combination or substitution, with nothing to combine or substitute." To this

¹ *The Human Intellect*, pp. 148-9.

extent, he claims, the advocates of the associational and evolution psychology are continually driven in their efforts to explain by a single law our knowledge and beliefs — our knowledge of time, space, of the laws of matter and of spirit, of the very principles of induction, and of all necessary truths, even the very powers and passions of the soul. They would generate “inseparable associations”; but *from what*, they do not so satisfactorily show.

Having then, to start with, a real agent, the active self, with innate powers and capacities of its own, and having also an *original consciousness of the objective sort*, i.e., an immediate knowledge of the external and the extended in the form of our own sensorium as affected in sensation, — President Porter proceeds to show that all our perceptive knowledge of anything beyond this, is the result of processes of observation and induction, carried on in our earliest years, and gradually advancing from the smallest conceivable minimum of distinct knowledge in an infant’s consciousness, through discriminations of constantly increasing power and extent, to the distinct cognition of the visible realities which surround us. The complex process by which this vast structure of knowledge is built up upon its obscure and hidden foundation, is traced with the keenest analysis and the most patient thought, till the completed result stands fully before us. This account of the *development of perception* is one of the most valuable parts of *The Human Intellect*. On the whole, Dr. Porter’s account of sense-perception is, as we have said, the most extended and

thorough and, withal, the most sober which English philosophy then contained.

Passing now to representative knowledge, President Porter teaches that the representative object or image is *sui generis* and can best be understood by means of the act which gives it birth. This act, he holds, is in no case an act of comparison, *i.e.*, an act of discerning resemblance between the image and its original. The image in no literal sense can be said to be *like* its original. It is the mental equivalent of the original; is, therefore, a subject-object; is intellectual even where the original is a feeling or a volition; is always individual and transient — its *esse* is *percipi*. We have not space to follow the exhaustive discussions of the forms of representation — memory, imagination, phantasy (including sleep, dreams, hypnotism and insanity).

The problem of the *association of ideas*, as would be expected from one writing when the associational psychology and philosophy was in the ascendant, received from President Porter careful treatment. The significance of the problem is patent. The view we take of association will affect our views of all the higher activities of mind — memory, imagination, generalization, reasoning. Our views also of fundamental ideas and ultimate truths, *e.g.*, the law of causation, the axioms of mathematics, the ideas of space, substance, cause; and our views even of the nature of the mind itself, will turn on the position taken as to the nature of association. The principle of association, recognized in English philosophy first by Hobbes and Locke; regarded later by Hume as playing a rôle in the mental

sphere comparable to that of the law of gravitation in the physical; was made by Hartley and James Mill to explain all the cardinal notions and operations of the mind. Not only all our intellectual pleasures and pains but all the phenomena of memory, imagination, volition, reasoning and every other mental affection and operation, were explained as different modes or cases of association. With Hartley and James Mill the Associationist school takes its rise, insisting that "nothing is requisite to make any man whatever he is, but a sentient principle with this single law." The influence of the school reached its height in J. S. Mill and Bain and in the modification given to the doctrine by Spencer. President Porter, in his discussion of the problem, carefully distinguishes between the associating *agent* and the *laws*, emphasizing the former and insisting that no theory of association can answer the requirements of psychological science that fails to recognize the active spiritual ego as the *agent*. He criticises the physiological theories, which would find in the neural processes the "force that runs the train," as inadequate, and he exposes the absurdities of the Herbartian and kindred theories which hypostatize the ideas or relations and make out of them entities with dynamic characteristics. He insists that the associating agent is not the brain, nor any attractive force residing in the ideas or their relations, but that it is the spiritual ego. The *laws* of association he holds can all be reduced to the one law, *that the mind tends to act again more readily in a manner or form which is similar to any in which it has acted before, in any defined exer-*

tion of its energy. He insists that the higher phenomena of mind cannot be explained as the effects of association, declaring rather that intelligence, logical thinking, gradually undergoes *dissolution* by the increasing dominance of unrestricted association — as is seen in the cases of the daydreamer and the insane. For the higher functions of the intellect, then, — not to mention memory, voluntary reproduction and imagination — the train of association must come under the control of the rational will.

President Porter's discussion of the elaborative or thought activities, especially conception and induction, are most suggestive and able. His treatment of the concept or general notion still remains after a quarter of a century the most thorough to be found in any systematic treatise on psychology in English.

The problem of *necessary truth or the "intuitions"* received from Dr. Porter extended discussion. It concerns our fundamental ideas and ultimate principles, *e.g., cause, substance, time, space, the axioms of mathematics, the primary laws of thought, the law of causation, etc.* "Philosophers," writes Dr. Porter, "are generally agreed that there are certain conceptions or ideas that deserve to be called elementary or original conceptions, — certain relations that are properly designated as fundamental, and certain propositions that take that place in our knowledge which is commonly assigned to first or necessary truths."¹ But they are far from being agreed as to their psychological *origin*, or subjective necessity, and

¹ *The Human Intellect*, p. 500.

hence their relation to experience; and as to their *validity* or trustworthiness.

We take first the question of *origin*. Dismissing as needing no refutation, the crude theory of *innate knowledge* — in the sense of characters stamped upon the mind at its creation, or truths consciously in the mind at birth and independent of experience in being evoked, — there remain three views which President Porter discusses. The first is the associational or inductive theory, *e.g.*, as advocated by Mill. This holds that there is nothing in these ideas or beliefs which compels us to distinguish them generically from others, but that, like all other truths, they are the result of experience. But as they are at the basis of and are the warrant for all the others they are themselves explained as inductions by simple enumeration from past uncontradicted experience, *i.e.*, the results of inseparable association. Take, for example, the law of causation and the relations of time and space, which give mathematical truths and relations — Whence are these ultimate beliefs, upon which all our scientific conclusions rest, derived? To this Mr. Mill has no other reply than that these all are the products of induction, even though they are the conditions of induction, and all of them come from inseparable associations. To this, Dr. Porter objects, How, then, can I trust them, supposing I have not yet learned to associate these things together; or what if they should be differently connected in other minds? To this Mill, he asserts, would be compelled by his philosophy to reply, “The last is supposable; and the conse-

quence would be, that those minds would have different beliefs concerning the laws of nature, and even concerning the fixedness of any laws, or the relations of number and magnitude. It is supposable, that, to the inhabitants of another planet, their inseparable associations should be so strangely mixed and re-adjusted, that they should multiply *three* and *four* into *eleven*, and should conceive that to issue ten per cent dividends signifies to steal the capital ten times over." To the question, How do we know in our reasonings, say, about the sun, that the law of causation, which Mill says is the fundamental principle or axiom of inductive reasoning, prevails in the sun at all, Mill himself furnishes this answer: "In distant parts of the stellar regions, where the phenomena may be entirely unlike those with which we are acquainted, it would be folly to affirm confidently that this general law of causation prevails any more than those special ones which we found to hold universally on our planet. The uniformity in the succession of events, otherwise called 'the law of causation,' must not be received as a law of the universe, but of that portion of it only which is within the range of our sure observation, with a reasonable degree of extension to adjacent cases. To extend it farther is to make a supposition without evidence, etc."¹ "Mill's very slender basis for inductive reasoning," President Porter remarks, "would seem to be as suitable to confirm the doubter concerning some new discovery in physics as the writings of Colenso to strengthen faith in the Pentateuch, or of Strauss and

¹ J. S. Mill, *System of Logic*, Bk. 3, ch. 21, sec. 5.

Baur to lead to confidence in the gospel history. But the defects in Mill's philosophy of induction are necessary consequences of his defective and uncertain science of *man's power to know*." ¹

Mr. Herbert Spencer has tried to improve upon this "experience hypothesis" of the origin of our fundamental ideas and axioms by his Evolution theory. "Those who contend," he writes, "that knowledge results wholly from the experience of the individual, ignoring as they do the mental evolution which accompanies the autogenous development of the nervous system, fall into an error as great as if they were to ascribe all bodily growth and structure to exercise, forgetting the *innate tendency* to assume the adult form." ² Mr. Spencer's own view—the evolution theory of the "intuitions"—is that the human brain is an organized register of infinitely-numerous experiences received during the evolution of life, or rather, during the evolution of that series of organisms through which the human organism has been reached. The effects of the most uniform and frequent of these experiences have been successively bequeathed, principal and interest; and have slowly mounted to that high intelligence which lies latent in the brain of the infant—which the infant in after life exercises and perhaps strengthens or further complicates—and which, with minute additions, it bequeaths to future generations. This theory President Porter has,

¹ *The Science of Nature vs. The Science of Man*, rep. in *Science and Sentiment*, p. 59.

² Spencer, *Principles of Psychology*, vol. i, p. 469.

in a number of places, subjected to a critical examination, notably in his brilliant essay on *Physiological Metaphysics*, which received extended notice in Germany. We quote a few extracts. He describes the theory thus : "Let it now be supposed that certain relations, as of causation or time and space, both in their specialized and more general forms, should often be repeated, and that the molecular condition of the brain should be gradually adjusted. By the law of heredity, the tendencies to these adjustments must pass over into the brains of the succeeding generation. By constant exercise, these adjustments would be so fixed as invariably to recur when their appropriate conditions should require, attended by their accompanying psychical experience, till at last, as the result of the accumulated energy of these recurring and inherited experiences, it has become absolutely necessary to the intellectual activity of the human race, as we find it, to think under them as accepted categories of scientific knowledge."¹ In criticising the theory, Dr. Porter insists that even though we should allow its principal assumptions to pass unquestioned, we do not find that it explains why *so few* of these relations should originally present themselves so frequently as to thrust aside many others; *e.g.*, why the relations of time and space or causation should gain any advantage by their *frequency*, were there not some *original necessity* which determined them to be frequently and even uniformly present to the discerning mind. "But, if any

¹ *Physiological Metaphysics*, rep. in *Science and Sentiment*, pp. 244, 245.

such necessity for their frequent occurrence be admitted, then *it* must have existed *before* the intermediate action of the physiological agencies which are introduced to explain the permanence and the universality of the categories which have thus become the intellectual outfit of the race. Then, again, heredity, while it transmits with strength and certainty, also transmits with tendencies to variation; and the environment which receives the transmitted legacy of the past also fixes it after some discernible change. But this is contrary to the theory which holds the categories to be axiomatic and permanent. If, on the other hand, we suppose the theory to be true, the consequences must be *fatal to the authority of science itself*. We see not why, under the operation of the physiological agencies supposed, new categories must not come into existence, which may displace or perhaps contradict those already recognized — nor indeed, why any conceivable species of so-called relations may not come into being; nor why, under the operation of the inevitable tendency to change, the entire structure of axiomatic relations which are now accepted should not be outgrown; nor why, in short, science itself, as we know it, with its space and time, its number and magnitude, its causation and its adaptation, should not finally be dissipated into intellectual or material star-dust. . . . One category or axiom is fundamental to the theory which seems especially endangered; and that is, the assumption of the law of evolution itself as necessarily permanent.”¹

Rejecting the associational and evolution theories of

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 245, 246; cf. p. 34.

the *origin* of necessary truth, President Porter presents his own view. He finds that the mind is a real *agent* and not a mere sum of mental states; as a real being it has a nature of its own and its evolution consists not in adventitious accretions from without but in the unfolding of its latent capacities and powers. These it reveals gradually. When aroused to activity the soul in consequence of its nature develops certain forms of activity from which certain principles may be abstracted. These are, however, in no sense *imported into the mind from without*; they are expressions of the mind's own nature. Man, that is, is by his very nature a rational being endowed with norms and in possession of principles of reason regulating all his thinking and constituting him able to distinguish between the true and the false. The mind itself, *intellectus ipse*, is, as Leibnitz declared, given, and as it develops it comes to recognize certain ideas, *e.g.*, time, space, cause, substance; and certain truths, *e.g.*, the axioms of mathematics and the law of causation. "They are not perceived by sense-perception, nor felt by consciousness; they are neither reproduced in memory, nor represented or created by the phantasy; they are not generalized by the power to classify and name; they are neither proved by deduction, nor inferred by induction. They are developed and brought into view *in connection with* these processes, and are assumed in them all."¹ That is, they are not given by experience but are evoked by it; experience is their revealer, not their producer; their occasion, not their

¹ *The Human Intellect*, p. 499.

cause. Their criteria are universality, necessity, and logical independence and originality.

The second great problem concerning these "rational intuitions" relates to their *validity*. Having vindicated their *a priori* origin and subjective necessity, as against the experience philosophy of his day, Kant himself raised another inquiry: Are these *a priori* and subjectively necessary categories true and objectively valid, hence worthy of confidence, or do they simply arise from *the constitution of the human intellect* — a change in which might involve a change in them and in the knowledge which is built upon them? To this question Kant makes the following reply: These assumptions have for man a *regulative force*, but perhaps only a *relative truth and validity*. That is, while man must act in his intellectual processes under the belief that these principles are primary and universal, and thus admit them as giving law to his own intellect, and as grounding and explaining all his knowledge, he is not authorized thereby to assume that they hold good as principles of things themselves or as laws of minds which may be supposed to be constituted differently from those of human beings. We cannot imagine intellectual processes that do not run back into these relations and principles, nor can we conceive of any knowledge which is not held together by these relations, but we have no rational ground for denying that both are possible.¹ The final result, therefore, for Kant of the critical examination of man's power to know is — *philosophical scepticism*.

¹ *The Human Intellect*, p. 522.

President Porter's treatment of this point furnishes an excellent illustration of his powers of analysis, and we, therefore, quote one discussion of it almost entire: "(1) Whatever may be the probability or reasonableness of this suggestion, *it is in no sense a psychological fact*. It is purely a philosophical thesis, to be urged and defended on speculative grounds, but which cannot in any sense be said to be given by the analysis of the workings of the souls of other possible races or kinds of beings, or of the products which they have evolved.

"(2) This metaphysical suggestion or thesis *is unsupported by any grounds of analogy or probability*. The facts which suggested the analysis are the known changes in the objects of sense-perception, which are connected with known changes in the organism of the percipient or in the medium by which the percipient apprehends. These changes are most conspicuous in vision. An object seen through a colored lens, be it red or green or blue, is seen to be red or green or blue. In like manner, the color of objects is, to a limited extent, affected by changes in the physical condition of the eye. Upon analogies derived from these facts, Kant justifies himself in asserting that there may or might exist created or finite minds which know objects *without the relations of time, space, substance, casuality, or design*. To this it is enough to reply that the facts from which these suggestions are derived are phenomena of the corporal organism—while the acts and objects to which they are applied by way of analogy *pertain to the pure intellect*. . . . But to these thought or intellectual relations no such con-

ditions are required. Certainly the objects are not known to change with any conditions. So far as these relations are applied to material beings it makes no difference what the objects are. Many are equally applicable to spiritual beings, and their phenomena, products, and trustworthiness cannot be weakened or set aside by analogies derived from material beings and phenomena. All positive ground for finding or applying any analogies of the kind utterly fail.

“(3) The suggestion of Kant is *inconsistent with, and overthrown by, the reach and necessary use of some of these very relations* which are brought into distrust. It is open to the charge of being an intellectual *felo de se*. For example, all the *positive ground* for the suggestion, founded upon analogy which we have shown to be invalid because irrelevant, rests upon one of the first truths themselves, one of these very original relations, which Kant subjects to metaphysical doubt, as to whether it may not be merely contingent upon the human constitution. We cannot but observe that the question which he raises is, whether knowledge by these relations is a subjective process, and the relations themselves as an objective fact, may not be and probably is, an *effect* of which the human constitution is a *cause*. We notice also that the reason by which he supports his suggestion is, that we are justified in so interpreting — which we have shown is misinterpreting — certain *signs* or indications furnished by analogous phenomena. In this argument it will be obvious to all our readers who accept the analysis which we have given of induction, that the as-

sumptions which he contends are only *regulative* are used and applied by him as though they were *real*. He certainly applies with entire confidence, the relations of *cause* and *effect* as necessarily and really pertinent to the constitution of man as viewed by all beings, and wholly omits to notice that he has already suggested that these relations as necessarily employed in human thinking, are merely contingent upon the operation of that thinking, and may not belong to the constitution of the soul as viewed or known by any other being, whether creature or creator. This is not all. Not only are they used as though they were real, but they are used as real in order to prove that they are only regulative. He reasons thus: Upon the validity of the principles to which I must conform as the laws of my human thinking do I conclude that it is more than probable that they are true of human thinking only. That is, in the very argument that they need apply only to the processes and objects of human thinking he applies them to both processes and objects of thinking which are not human. How convincing and consistent such reasoning is it is easy to see.”¹

The attempt has been made by many thinkers, pre-eminently by Kant himself and by Lotze, to rest our confidence in these fundamental assumptions of the human intellect on *ethical* grounds. In essential agreement with this is the position of Hamilton, and closely allied to it the position of Jacobi and Schleiermacher. To all such attempts to seek a refuge from intellectual difficulties in *faith*, *moral imperatives*, and the like, Presi-

¹ *The Human Intellect*, pp. 522, 523; cf. Kant's *Ethics*, *passim*.

dent Porter was the uncompromising opponent. To his thinking they were thoroughly unsound and sooner or later would be seen to undermine the very faith which was supposed to support them. "If the mind," he writes, "be as limited in the range and authority of its knowledge as Kant has written a long book to persuade us is true, then we can know only the relations of *phenomena*, in every form or method of reasoning, the practical and speculative alike."¹ For to assume that there are two kinds of evidence, which have no common foundation and which require a different or an irreconcilable logic, the so-called logic of the intellect and the logic of the conscience, is to accept a fundamental logic which will be found to be irreconcilable with either science or faith. He insists that all ethical and spiritual convictions stand on definite and discernible speculative foundations. "Faith, or belief, may exclude definite knowledge, *reasoned* knowledge, etc., but it cannot exclude some kind of intellectual apprehension." The analysis of all higher human knowledge shows that it must involve an *a priori* element, called the unconditioned. And yet of this *a priori* element, the speculative reason, these thinkers would have us believe, does not and cannot affirm objective reality. "But why does it not? Does it not in fact? Why does not the analysis which shows the unconditioned to be subjectively necessary in order to the completion and trustworthiness of human knowledge, and particularly of human science — why does not this very analysis involve and justify the

¹ Kant's *Ethics*, p. 109.

belief that this, being unconditioned, is also an objective fact? ”¹

President Porter's view of the great question of causation and the principle of cause might readily be surmised from his philosophy as thus far presented. "The most complete knowledge, we may say the only complete knowledge, which we have of power or efficiency, is gained through or by means of the active energy of our own spirit."² That is, the soul knows itself to be the actor or originator of its active states. "In this conscious exercise of its own active energy it has its first knowledge and individual exemplification of the causal energy in general. It has a direct knowledge of the terms or objects concerned, viz. the agent and the result."³ In contrast with this knowledge of our own personal causality, the mind's belief of the acting of other causes external to itself, whether of *spirit upon matter*, of *matter upon spirit*, or of *matter upon matter*, is incomplete and secondary. As for the principle, "Every event has a cause," this is an intuition of the mind. Dr. Porter's discussion of causation in *The Human Intellect* is an admirable example of his power to condense both the views of others and his own with clearness and without becoming too abstract or dry; and also of his critical ability,—his criticisms of Hume, Mill, and Hamilton being lucid and strong.

One of the distinguishing features of Dr. Porter's

¹ Kant's *Ethics*, p. 109.

² *The Human Intellect*, p. 601.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 584.

philosophy is the view he takes of *design* and the *principle of finality* (*teleology*). "The point which we assert and defend," he writes, "is that this relation is believed *a priori* to pervade all existence, and must be assumed as the ground of the scientific explanation of the facts and phenomena of the universe."¹ It lies, that is to say, at the ground of all our knowledge as a *necessary relation of things*, and a *first principle or axiom of thought*,—in other words, the principle of adaptation ranks with the principle of efficient causation as a necessary and *a priori* truth. It is not then through effects in nature actually produced that we infer design, but, bringing the principle as *a priori* with us to the examination of nature, we infer specific designs, *e.g.*, that this effect was produced for this specific end, that for that end, and so on. The principles of efficient and of final cause stand, therefore, upon the same footing. The question regarding them is not at all whether men can discover particular causes and particular ends with infallible certainty, but whether they intuitively believe there are causes for every event and ends to which all beings and agents are adapted, and for which they are designed. The reasonings of the student of nature, President Porter asserts, rest upon the assumption that there are; that in the universe objectively considered, there is an intelligent and wise adaptation of powers and laws to rational ends, and that the same is true of the relation of the universe to the knowing mind. That is to say, the entire superstructure of the Inductive Philosophy

¹ *The Human Intellect*, p. 594.

rests upon the principle of teleology of design as much as it does upon the principle of efficient cause. Psychologically, as is the case with efficient causation, this relation is derived from conscious experience. Instead then of the principle of final cause being in conflict with the principle of efficient cause, Dr. Porter claims that it is absolutely required to warrant the extension of the relations of efficient causes observed within a limited sphere, throughout those regions of which observation and testimony can give only an uncertain and incomplete report. He goes farther and declares that it is only by relations of orderly design that we can explain or vindicate that belief in the permanence of the material structure—the indestructibility of the elements of the cosmos—as to its forms of being and their constituents which is received as an axiom in all physical or inductive philosophy. That this permanence or indestructibility is not essential or necessary, that it cannot be viewed as of itself an axiom, appears from the broader and deeper axioms into which it may be resolved, and on which it rests. The indestructibility of the elements has its rational ground in the fact that *design* reigns in the universe. This principle, finally, offers us, according to President Porter, a criterion of truth and a rule of certitude: “When skepticism suggests that every principle may be questioned, and every observation of fact may be mistaken; that the objective creation may be a shifting phantasmagoria, and the subjective mind but a lying glass of opinion; then the thought of the inconceivable *non-adaptation* of such a universe to any

rational end even of knowledge, restores our confidence in the testimony of the senses, the experiences of consciousness, and the inductions of reason. We try all these by one another, and by the tests which experience and science have discovered, but we *trust* them at last, when they conspire to ends that are worthy of rational order in a universe adapted to be known by a being who is manifestly designed to know, and to confide in his knowledge when properly tried and proved.”¹

Regarding the *Infinite, Unconditioned or Absolute*, President Porter teaches that we know both *that* it is and *what* it is. These concepts and the entities which they represent are not merely negative conceptions, nor are they the products of what is called negative thinking. “It does not follow, because a concept is designated by a negative term, that it is not positively conceived; or, because an object is called by such a name, that it is not really known. If we see a bat, and say of it, It is not a bird, or, It is not a beast, or if the Sandwich Islanders, for lack of name, had called the *ox* a *not-hog*, the use of a negative appellation would not necessarily authorize the inference of a want of definite conceptions or positive knowledge. So, when we gather together the entire sphere of finite being, and, stretching our thought beyond, apprehend something which is unlike it and contrasted with it by being *not finite, not conditioned, and not dependent*; we do not confess that we cannot conceive it or that we do not know it as something positive and real because we emphasize this single relation of contrast by

¹ *The Human Intellect*, p. 609.

the use of such negative terms as the infinite, the unconditioned, and the absolute (*i.e.*, the not finitely related)."¹ Again, the absolute and unconditioned, is not necessarily, as a concept or as a being, exclusive of all relations, *i.e.*, it is not *unrelated*, or *the unrelated*. It excludes only a certain class of relations, viz., those of *dependent being* or *origination*. The truly absolute and infinite is that which is not dependent on any other being for its *existence* or its *activity*. It is no part of its perfection, that it should not be distinguished in thought from that which it is not in fact; nor that it should not be compared with objects not itself, under the various relations of likeness, difference, production, and design, but simply that it should not hold certain special relations to all such objects, viz., the relations of dependence. Nor, again, is the absolute and infinite the *sum of all actual and conceivable being*. Indeed, the unconditioned and infinite cannot pertain to the relations of quantity. Quantity is, in its essential nature, measurable and definite. The space and time which make extension and duration, which *are* measurable, possible, are not themselves quantities, but the conditions of quantity; they are not subject to its relations, but render the relations possible.

In opposition to Kant, who teaches that we cannot know the infinite and absolute because our faculties of knowing both the finite and the infinite have merely a subjective necessity and validity, and therefore we cannot trust their results as objectively valid; in opposition to Hamilton, who teaches that we find ourselves impotent

¹ *The Human Intellect*, p. 652.

to know them, in consequence of the contradictions which the attempt involves; and in opposition to Spencer, who teaches that though we know *that* the absolute is, we cannot know *what* it is; President Porter teaches that the absolute and the infinite is *knowable by a finite mind*: not only can such a mind know *that it is*, but it can know *what it is*. In opposition to those who, like Hamilton, Schleiermacher and Jacobi, teach that we reach the absolute by faith or feeling and not by knowledge, Dr. Porter insists that it is impossible to conceive of an act of faith or belief which does not include the element of knowledge.

Although insisting then that the infinite and absolute can be known, he yet affirms that it cannot be known by the *imagination*. "It is true, indeed, that, if we can know *what* the absolute is, we can form some notion of it, and this we can do only by means of some relation which it holds to the finite. It is true, also, that every relation, however general, can be imagined or illustrated by some finite object in which it is exemplified. In other words, the infinite, to be known as a *what*, must be known in some points of likeness to the finite; but the likeness may be so very general, and the unlikenesses or differences so numerous and striking, that the attempt to image the one by the other will fail to produce the advantages which commonly accrue from the process, while the finite image will suggest so many misleading and bewildering associations, as to embarrass and confuse the mind."¹ The *antinomies* of Kant, the *essential con-*

¹ *The Human Intellect*, p. 657.

traditions of Hamilton, are due, he declares, to a failure to hold fast to this distinction between *imaging* and *unpicturable conceiving*. Thus, for example, in the alleged antinomy involved in the propositions *the world is in time and space* and is *neither finite nor infinite*; the contradiction lies between a fact or image borrowed from perception and experience and an *unpicturable a priori* necessity, — a confounding of the *extended in space*, which can be imagined, with *space itself* which cannot.

Furthermore the absolute and unconditioned, though knowable, is not a notion that is the product of reasoning, inductive or deductive. It cannot be inferred by induction, because it is *assumed* in the very process of induction, as its necessary condition; *i.e.*, induction has no meaning and no validity, unless we assume that the universe is constituted in such a way as to presuppose an absolute and unconditioned origination of its forces and laws. Nor can it be deduced by syllogistic reasoning, because all deduction rests either on the previous process of induction, or on the intuitions of time and space which involve the infinite and absolute.

“We next affirm positively,” writes Dr. Porter, “that the absolute is and can be known as the *correlate* which must be necessarily assumed to explain and account for the finite universe. If the absolute is necessary to explain the finite, then it holds some relations to it. If it is its correlate, it must be connected with it by some relations. What these relations are, it is not needful to inquire. All that we need here to urge is, that it is so far from being true, because it is absolute, that it is not

related, that, on the contrary, it cannot be the absolute without being known or related. We cannot know *that it is*, without knowing, to a certain degree, *what it is.*"¹ Even Spencer's "indefinite consciousness" that the infinite is, must involve some knowledge of its relations, some knowledge of *what it is*. "If, then, we must accept a self-existent absolute, if we know *that it is*, and can know in a degree *what it is*, the inquiry returns, What absolute must we assume, and on what grounds do we assume that it is? To this we reply: — The absolute is a thinking agent. The universe is a thought as well as a thing. As fraught with design, it reveals thought as well as force. The thought includes the origination of the forces and their laws, as well as the combination and use of them. These thoughts must include the whole universe; it follows then that the universe is controlled by a single thought, or the thought of an individual thinker. If gravitation everywhere prevails, and gravitation is a thought as well as a thing, then the universe, so far as it depends on and is affected by gravitation, is a single thought. But a thought implies a thinking agency, and if the universe is a single thought, it was thought by one thinking agency. That this thinking person should be self-existent, is no greater mystery than a self-existent thing.

"We assume that this absolute exists, in order that thought and science may be possible. We do not *demonstrate* his being by deduction, because we must believe it in order to reason deductively; we do not infer it by

¹ *The Human Intellect*, p. 659.

induction, because induction supposes it; but we show that every man who believes in either, or in both, must assume it, or give up his confidence in both these processes and their results. We do not demonstrate that God exists, but that *every man must assume that He is. We analyze the several processes of knowledge into their underlying assumptions, and we find that the assumption which underlies them all is a self-existent intelligence, who not only can be known by man, but must be known by man in order that man may know anything besides.*"¹

Did space allow we would like to touch upon some other phases of Dr. Porter's philosophy, especially his views of man's moral nature and of evolution. For a discussion by a thoroughly competent hand of President Porter's work as a moralist, the reader is referred to Dr. Nakashima's contribution to this volume. We conclude with a few remarks of a more personal nature regarding President Porter and the general character and spirit of his thinking.

The spirit in which Dr. Porter did all his thinking was eminently honest and fearless. He was a sincere searcher after truth, with no prejudices to sustain which feared investigation. He quotes approvingly and makes his own the words of the late James Clerk Maxwell, "Now my great plan . . . is a plan of Search and Recovery, or Revision and Correction, or Inquisition and Execution, etc. The rule of the plan is to let nothing

¹ *The Human Intellect*, pp. 661, 662.

be willfully left unexamined. Nothing is to be *holy ground* consecrated to stationary faith, whether positive or negative. . . . I assert the Right of Trespass on any plot of Holy Ground which any man has set apart to the power of darkness."¹ This was the spirit in which President Porter did all his thinking, on theological as well as on philosophical themes. "Theology," he declared, "must be free as no other science is free. It must be independent; free to modify its old opinions and accept the new. . . . Hence, we must manfully eliminate from our scholastic creeds all that has been displaced by the progress of Christian or scientific truth. Every such creed must stand or fall by itself; whether it be the Westminster Confession, or the Thirty-Nine Articles, or the decrees of the Council of Trent, they must be modified by any truth that proves itself to be true."²

He was thoroughly fair and chivalrous in his treatment of opposing thinkers and systems. Delighting in close combat with what he believed to be error, and unsparing in exposing the weakness of an opponent's position, indulging often in stinging sarcasm, he yet was uniformly fair in statement of facts, and charitable in interpreting motives; never answering argument by declamation but always by fair argument. "Every discussion of a scientific question," he once wrote, "should be characterized by the scientific spirit. We care not how merciless be the criticism, if it be just, nor how

¹ Review of *Life of Maxwell*.

² Address before the American Congress of Churches, Hartford, May 13, 1885.

piquant the satire, nor how glowing the rhetoric, if these all carry and enforce that conviction which comes from a keen analysis of things that differ and a quick discernment of likenesses that unite. But no unfair fetch or unjust criticism, or any species of under or overstatement, can possibly be other than injurious to the best of causes when given to the hands of the boldest of its advocates.”¹

Again, all his philosophical writing was from abundant knowledge. He was no “maker of books,” but wrote only when he had something to say and because he had something to say. He was probably the most widely read philosophical thinker which this country has produced. His erudition was the result of a wide and accurate acquaintance with original sources. Among his manuscripts are voluminous notes on special topics showing a remarkable range of investigation; many note-books also which contain detailed analyses and criticisms of the master-pieces of philosophy—among them the more important of the writings of Descartes, Spinoza, Kant, Hegel, Locke, Berkeley, Hume, etc. This wide and accurate acquaintance with the literature of philosophy has left its impress on every page of *The Human Intellect*. “I am amazed,” wrote Professor Bowen of Harvard College to him on the appearance of that work, “at the amount of learning and patient thought which you have embodied in it in a very succinct form. You have dug deeply into the mine of post-Kantian German philosophy.” “I do not

¹ Article in *New York Independent*, October 11, 1877.

know," wrote Professor Fraser of Edinburgh, "any English work in which so much valuable thought and information is condensed on these subjects."

Another characteristic of Dr. Porter's thinking was its originality. Surely there is originality implied even in presenting so much heterogeneous matter as he had to treat in *The Human Intellect*, in a consistent form; in recognizing the fundamental; in co-ordinating, with such balance and judiciousness, part with part; and in detecting the consistency or inconsistency of the conclusions or assumptions of so many thinkers with the foundations of truth. But, furthermore, Dr. Porter was an independent thinker; he thought his own way through all the problems he handled, and the results whether they agreed or not with the conclusions of others were his own. He manifested powers of keen introspective observation and analysis and equally great dialectical skill. On the one hand he had an eye for facts, a habit of referring to the actual experience of daily life, a distrust of merely verbal formulas, a sense in short of reality; on the other hand, he manifests great analytic skill and profound reflection, exposing the inadequacy of the premises on which the theories of opposing schools rest and the fallacy of the conclusions to which they lead.

Sobriety, too, was a marked characteristic of all Dr. Porter's thinking and writing. His tone is calm, discriminating, judicial. There is self-restraint and balance. He is neither carried away by novelty nor blind to new light. Discussing a great multitude of topics he

is never lost among details. Exhibiting an unsurpassed familiarity with the results of previous labors, from the earliest times down, on the subjects of which he treats, yet nothing is introduced for display. The modesty of the true scholar is as marked as the learning and the profundity.

Finally, President Porter's thinking is imbued throughout with a profound reverence for the Christian truth and the Christian life. His Christianity was no merely inherited belief; on the contrary, it was the result of thorough study and rested on profound conviction. His recognition of Christian truth was in no sense perfunctory: his faith was not an appendage to his philosophy but its life-giving center.

President Porter's writings are in no sense ephemeral productions; they will live long to interest, enlighten and quicken. The generations of his countrymen will turn with renewed interest to them and this interest will find its justification, to use his own words of another great thinker, "in the clearness and comprehensiveness with which he appreciates the great problems of philosophical inquiry, and the acuteness and judiciousness with which he states and answers the questions which must be forever renewed by man, and, above all, in the thorough and honest love of truth by which he was animated."

DR. PORTER'S THEORY OF MORALS.

BY PROFESSOR RIKIZO NAKASHIMA.

THE object of this paper is to present a brief statement of the main points of Dr. Porter's theory of morals. Such a summary statement of his teachings on morals will serve better than any exposition and recommendation of mine not only for the right understanding of his scientific position in ethical speculation, but also for the proper recognition and due appreciation of the service which he has rendered in the promotion of the scientific spirit in the study of morals, and of valuable contributions which he has made to the science of duty. My exposition consists largely of quotations from his *Elements of Moral Science*.

The first question that presents itself in this attempt to set forth Dr. Porter's theory of morals is: What is his definition of Moral Science? Moral Science has been variously defined ever since Socrates and Plato began its scientific study, and yet there is no universally accepted definition of it. It has been defined by some as "the science of conduct." It has been sometimes defined as "the science of ends—the science which teaches man the end for which he was made, why he should attain that end, and how to attain it." Still again it has been defined by some as "the science of

duty — that science which teaches men their duty and the reasons of it." The last is the definition of moral science adopted by Dr. Porter. He conceives it to be "the science which defines, regulates and enforces duty." "As a science, Moral Science proposes to give the result of careful observation, subtle and exhaustive analysis, clear and complete definitions, verified inductions, logical deductions, in the form of a consistent, articulated, and finished system." An advantage of this definition is its exactness; it also clearly marks off the field of Moral Science from that of the Science of Rights.

Now Dr. Porter states that this science of duty does not create duty, but assumes its reality; presupposes a popular knowledge of duty. "Duty is a subject-matter which all men acknowledge and believe in, and of which all men think more or less."

Moral Science like other sciences has a practical application. He says: "The results of its scientific knowledge can be applied to the direction of human conduct and the improvement of human character, to the well-being of the individual and the community, in almost every conceivable variety of circumstances." "Moral Science . . . is justly esteemed one of the most important of studies, for the simple reason that questions of duty present themselves to all men, in all circumstances, and the consequences of correctly answering these questions are of the utmost practical importance."

Having defined Moral Science as the Science of Duty, Dr. Porter raises the question, What is Duty? "Duty in the concrete," says he, "is an action, or collection of

actions, which ought to be done: in the abstract, it is the quality or relation which is common to and distinguishes such actions." In these definitions of duty the term action, of course, is not limited to corporeal or external actions, but it includes the inner activities also. Nor is the term confined to single and transient states; it is also applied to the relatively permanent states which constitute a man's character, disposition and habits.

In this conception of the science of morals Dr. Porter apparently aimed to harmonize the two opposing tendencies in the current ethical speculation and to avoid the prevalent error of one-sidedness. On the one hand, Moral Science is conceived to be a pure science of the *ideal*, while, on the other, it is regarded as the science of the *actual*. Dr. Porter says: "Moral Science treats of actions as they *ought to be*. But it founds its ideal rules and proposes its ideal aims upon a solid basis of fact." "Hence, though ideal in its aims and rules, it is founded on fact and observation. It investigates the moral constitution of man, and, so far, is an inductive science."

But one may properly ask here, on what grounds duty, of which Moral Science treats, is a reality and not a fiction? Dr. Porter mentions the two reasons for assuming that the subject-matter of Moral Science — Duty — is a reality:

(1) "Duty is universally believed to be a reality."

(2) "The conception of duty is not only universally and tenaciously held, but it is esteemed of the highest rank and supreme importance." "Even if the concep-

tion of duty is supposed to be unreal, while yet it is so universally received and confided in, it is the more important that it should be carefully scrutinized, in order that its groundlessness may be satisfactorily exposed, and the speculative and practical errors which have been caused by faith in its truth and sacredness may be effectually dispelled and shunned."

Assuming on these grounds, that duty is a reality, and is worthy of scientific examination, Dr. Porter proceeds to discuss the question of the methodology of moral science. He says: "The *analytical* method gives the divisions of moral science: "

(1) "Ethics, or classified rules of practice."

(2) "Moral science proper," which raises the comprehensive question: "What are the fundamental principles in respect to human action from which all special and subordinate rules are derived?"

"Moral science again admits a two-fold division — into the *psychological* and the *philosophical*. The one distinguishes and defines the psychical capacities which are the foundation of moral activity and the moral relations: the other defines and arranges the conceptions, and justifies and adjusts the principles, which are required for the conclusions and laws of moral science."

Of these, the psychological prepares the way for the philosophical. The question arises: "What are the endowments which are essential to moral activity, and what are the circumstances which are the conditions of moral responsibility? To ascertain these facts of human nature, to distinguish them carefully, to trace their his-

tory and origination, to show their mutual relations and their place in what we may call the moral experiences of man, are the necessary prerequisites of Moral Science." "Prominent among these psychological inquiries are those which relate to the nature and the theory of conscience."

But Moral Science does not rest on psychology alone: it also supposes and becomes a philosophy. "To science of any kind, certain axioms or fundamental principles are necessary prerequisites." "This is especially true of any scientific knowledge of man, and pre-eminently of his moral constitution." "It forces us to inquire whether the so-called moral axioms and intuitions stand by themselves, as an independent group, co-ordinate with those of the pure intellect, or whether they are resolved into those intuitions which are common to all the scientific judgments, and are fundamental to every form of science."

If the reverse order, viz. the *synthetic* method, is adopted, moral science gives the following divisions:

(1) Moral science proper, including the psychology of ethics.

(2) Ethics, classified rules of conduct or behavior. Dr. Porter follows this synthetic method in his *Elements of Moral Science*.

The question concerning the method of moral science is one of the much disputed questions at present. It is disputed whether the investigation of morality should be scientific or philosophical; whether the study of morals is to be considered a philosophical discipline or

to be made a science ; whether metaphysics must precede moral science or *vice versa*. Most of the English moralists consider it to be a science, while most of the German philosophers treat it as a philosophical discipline. Dr. Porter, like most of the English moralists, and the more recent German writers on morals, considers the theory of morals to be a science, which ought to be treated like any other science.

Having briefly stated Dr. Porter's definition of moral science and its methods of study, we now proceed to present his theory of morals.

Assuming that moral relations or qualities pertain only to moral persons and to their actions or character, their dispositions, thoughts, feelings, and words, Dr. Porter at the outset, raises the fundamental psychological inquiry of Moral Science: "What is a moral person? What are the capacities and faculties which constitute such a person? What endowments qualify him for moral activity and its responsibilities?" Dr. Porter says: "Some conceive these endowments to be special, and additional to those by which the other functions of human nature are performed. They represent to themselves and others certain so-called moral endowments, as superadded to the intellect, sensibility, and will, with the other recognized human powers, like a separate attachment or gearing to a machine, or as special organs in a plant or animal. To this special nature they assign the moral experiences as separate and quasi-independent functions, even though these may be conceived to inter-

act with the inferior powers by some unexplained connection, whenever man acts morally. In effect they assume or imply that man might be a completely furnished human being, and yet be incapable of moral judgments and feelings, and consequently conceive that the endowments which make him moral might be alternately attached or withdrawn, suspended or brought into action, leaving him essentially a man, whether with or without them. Some make this moral faculty to be the originator of special ideas, which they name the 'moral reason,' as an inlet or discerner of moral relations or conceptions. Others conceive it as a special sensibility called the 'moral sense,' originating certain feelings from or by which these relations are intellectualized. Others deny that there is any special moral faculty or faculties, but hold that man's moral nature designates the whole of man's conscious psychical endowments when applied to a special subject-matter and employed in special modes of activity. They contend that man's moral personality is an essential consequence of his complete and developed manhood, and that the two cannot be conceived as separable." ←

Now this last is the doctrine of Dr. Porter. He maintains that the consciousness of all men attests so much as this — "that the powers of feeling, will and intellect are concerned in all the moral phenomena." "Whether any other faculty is required to account for these phenomena, and the relations and feelings which they involve, will appear from a thorough psychological analysis of the phenomena themselves." Dr. Porter

begins the investigation of ethical psychology with the study of the sensibility.

The Sensibility is the capacity in man for feelings and desires. "An act or state of the sensibilities," he distinguishes from an act of the intellect by the following features:

(1) "It is purely subjective, being wholly confined to the soul which experiences it. In an intellectual act, the man always apprehends an object."

(2) "The act of feeling is dependent on an act of intellect for the object which excites it."

(3) "The third characteristic of an emotional experience is that it is uniformly either pleasurable or painful." He mentions the fact that "the appellations for the capacity of feeling and its various acts and states are few and indefinite" and this fact he considers to be "a natural consequence of the comparative little attention which this class of psychical phenomena has received from the psychologist."

One of the much disputed and long discussed points in moral psychology is the question concerning the object of desire. Some maintain that the object of desire is always pleasure, while others deny the truth of this statement and assert that we desire objects themselves. Dr. Porter has his own independent theory on this question of moral psychology. He believes that "two elements are distinguishable in every exercise of the sensibility—the emotion proper, and its attendant desire. The law is universal. Every feeling, whether pleasurable or painful, is no sooner experienced than it

awakens a desire that the pleasure may be continued or the pain may terminate." "Speaking more exactly, as the experience has two elements, each of these elements has its corresponding object or condition set over against itself as its exciting occasion or cause. The object of the *feeling proper* is that agent, be it a thing or be it a thought, imagination or memory, which is capable of exciting the sensibility to a pleasurable or painful affection." "The object of the *desire* that springs out of the feeling, experienced or thought of, is the feeling itself, whether pleasurable or painful, and whether the desire is an appetence or aversion. This object is purely subjective, but it is the primary object on which the desire directly terminates. Its secondary or mediate object is its occasion or cause." "Inasmuch as we do not often have occasion to distinguish between the two elements of the subjective experience, it is not surprising that the primary and secondary objects of desire should not always be distinguished, and are frequently interchanged with one another in thought and language."

Dr. Porter answers several possible objections to his theory of sensibility. The first objection is that we are not conscious of referring to subjective good. "Let this be admitted. The fact that we do not consciously recognize every element or relation of our psychical activities by no means proves that we do not apprehend them in fact."

The second objection is that the object is prominent before the mind. This is in a sense true. But the

reason is that the object must be before the mind in order to excite desire.

The third objection is that the instinctive desires do not follow this rule. This may be truly said, but an instinctive impulse is not properly a desire. "Instinctive desires" is an ambiguous phrase.

The fourth objection is "that this law of desire does not hold of the benevolent or disinterested affections, as of pity or love." "As natural and passive emotions, they are disinterested, unselfish, altruistic," and without moral quality; but as involving or leaping into desires, they obey the law of desire which we have explained.

But it should be remembered that "the desire as such is neither selfish nor unselfish until it becomes voluntary, whatever be its object;" that the desire of happiness is not co-ordinate with any of the special affections or desires. "No man ever desired happiness in the general or the abstract." "The desire of happiness, so called, is simply the common characteristic of several special impulses towards special objects. The subjective satisfaction which all of these objects impart, and which is common to them all, is generalized as happiness." "The desire of happiness is called a rational desire, because rational persons are alone capable of forming the concept of happiness, or can compare and discriminate between different kinds of good, or propose the activities or objects which terminate in one or other, or can judge between the acts and objects which result in these differing subjective states, or reflect upon their own agency in procuring, or failing

to procure, these results to themselves or others." "In man this desire becomes an ennobling and elevating impulse to the actions, the habits and character. It has of itself no moral quality; although it gives intellectual dignity to the character, the aim, and the achievements." "Though man alone can form the concept of happiness, yet he never proposes happiness to himself as an object of desire."

"The sensibilities and their attendant desires are distinguished as *simple* or *original*, and *complex* or *derived*. The simple are those which are capable of being excited alone, under their appropriate conditions." "On the other hand, a complex of distinguishable objects may awaken a complex of blended and yet distinguishable emotions." Complex emotions are also said to be mingled when they are opposite in character, some being pleasing and others displeasing.

"The feelings and accompanying desires are again distinguished as *primary* or original and *secondary* or artificial." "The first are supposed to be inherent in the constitution of every human being, and therefore to be essential to human nature. The second are the products of circumstances."

"The sensibilities and their attendant desires differ in respect to the quality or the kind of good, and respectively of the evil, which they condition or impart." "That our experiences of sensitive good and evil differ in intensity or degree is conceded by all. The unconscious testimony of human language, and the ready assent of the human race, seem to coincide in respect to

this point; but that the gratification of the different sensibilities also differs in kind, when compared, so that one would be pronounced naturally better than another, irrespectively of any moral relations, is by no means universally conceded by philosophers." "It must be said, however, that though it is by no means easy to fix upon the firmer divisions of a scale according to which the different sensibilities of the same general class are ranked, it will be generally conceded that bodily pleasures are inferior to the intellectual, social, and sympathetic, and that, when two of these species of satisfaction are brought into competition, one is discerned to be a higher and better good than the other. This difference in quality accounts for the different appellations which are applied to the gratifications of the several susceptibilities of our nature. The terms, 'pleasure,' 'happiness' and 'blessedness,' all of which are in actual and constant use, suggest and signify a different natural value in the sensations and emotions."

In the analysis of the sensibilities into feelings and desires, we observe that the sensibilities, as feelings, are simply passive. Hence they act under certain conditions. In other words, "the soul, in its capacities to feel, is simply passive under the stimulus of its exciting conditions. Its power to avoid or control feeling lies in another power than the capacity for simple feeling." This is (a) achieved by fixing the attention on other objects, and yielding the soul to their power; (b) "the capacity for the strength or energy of any feeling is increased by repetition; the sensibilities have an active as

well as a passive side. While feeling, as feeling, is only passive, desire is active or act-impelling." Hence activity is not limited to the will as some maintain.

The sensibilities may be divided as natural and voluntary. This introduces a new question: Is there such a power as WILL? The question is a psychological one and must be settled by the methods appropriate to psychology.

General evidence that man has such a power may be found in the following facts:

(1) "The distinction between desire and will is recognized in all languages."

(2) The one often conflicts with the other, consciousness being the witness. "Consciousness attests not merely to the presence of one desire prevailing against and over another, as a psychical experience or effect, but also to a desire *attended to, energized, and caused to prevail, by the soul's own activity.*"

(3) Self-respect and self-approbation and the moral emotions generally suppose this power.

(4) Civil government proceeds upon it.

(5) Men in the intercourse of society thus distinguish.

(6) Religion recognizes it.

"These general considerations establish the truth that the power of choosing is possessed by man. Man knows that he is endowed with will as truly, and by evidence similar to that by which he knows that he is endowed with intellect and sensibility."

Before we proceed further with the Will, a few words

may be inserted here in regard to Dr. Porter's theory of the Sensibility. Here no one can fail to note the irenic tendency of his theory. He seems to aim at the reconciliation of the Intuitionist, on the one hand, and the Hedonistic school on the other.

The former school maintains that the sensibility seeks *things* and not pleasure, while the latter school holds that the sensibility always strives after pleasure. Dr. Porter reconciles these opposing views by recognizing two elements in every exercise of the sensibility—the emotion proper and its attendant desire. The first is directed toward that agent, be it a thing or be it a thought, which is capable of exciting the sensibility to a pleasurable or painful affection. The second is directed toward the feeling itself, whether pleasurable or painful. He must have had in his mind this perplexing question of the sensibility, among many others, when he wrote in the preface of the book that “both the opinions and the grounds of them are the fruit of more or less reading and reflection; and none of them have been inconsiderately adopted.” His object evidently is to do justice to both schools on this disputed question as on many others.

Resuming the question of the Will, first of all he raises the inquiry: What is the Will?

“This question,” says he, “can be answered more satisfactorily by first defining what it is not.”

(a) “It is not simply a power to do as we desire, or as we will or please.”

(b) It is not a power to choose without a motive. We cannot choose without a motive.

(c) "Nor is it essential that there be no motive to the contrary. There not only may but there must be a motive to the contrary—to choose is also to reject.

(d) Nor is it the power to choose to choose, nor a power to choose to act.

He now proceeds to define, in a positive form, the power in its conditions, its exercise, and its results.

(a) In its conditions: there must be at least two objects (be they thoughts, things, or persons) apprehended—exciting two emotions and desires.

(b) In the act: under these conditions, the will chooses as the intellect and sensibility exercise their functions, their objects being given. "The act of choosing is an act *sui generis*." "The reasons why consciousness does not testify more explicitly to the act are because it is instantaneous in its nature, and it is less frequently performed, at least with special energy and conscious effort."

(c) The result or effect of the act—of this consciousness gives a report distinct and vivid:

(1) The effects within the soul—"the act of choosing brings the man into, and leaves him in, a state of choice." "This involves a new condition of thought and feeling." "If the choice is permanent, and involves many special activities of thinking, it becomes a permanent underlying force, which forms the intellectual habits, moulds the associative power, rules the memory, elevates the imagination, and inspires the higher functions of thought and reasoning." "The emotions undergo changes still more obvious." "By the very nature

and as the effect of choice, certain natural sensibilities and desires are allowed and stimulated and others are disallowed and repressed."

(2) The effects on the actions — "the will does not directly impel to action, but it regulates the actions by deciding which impulse shall prevail." "It also acts like an elastic coil, impelling them to their work with certain and constant energy." "The effects of choice may be more satisfactorily illustrated by two classes of examples. The one class is those choices that are speedily executed; *e.g.* an individual object chosen, as to take a fruit. The other class is those choices that are longer in execution; a more comprehensive object, as wealth or science. This last involves a permanent state of choice."

Now the object chosen may be ideal excellence; such a state of choice becomes the most important element of character. If the ideal involves moral relations, the state of choice constitutes moral character. "Such choices may rarely or never be repeated." "But the activity which originates the voluntary and responsible in character may be repeated again and again, and as the result, the character itself may be reversed, weakened or made more energetic." "Though a permanent purpose may possibly be renounced and reversed, the tendencies towards its perpetuation are many and strong." "The underlying and permanent purposes are the proper and conscious objects of moral approval and disapproval. Not that the special acts and emotions which obey them are indifferent, for they never can be. Morally, however, they are of consequence only so far as they renew

and manifest the prevailing purpose within." "The supreme moral purpose is that alone for which man is eminently responsible. In every other activity apart from this highest relation, he is under the law of necessity. In this relation, and what it affects, and in this alone, is he free."

"In judging of the effect of an act of choosing, we distinguish between what nature does for us and what we do by our own volition — between the sensibilities as natural and as voluntary. (a) In simple desires — pity in a miser and in a benevolent man illustrates this distinction. (b) In character — Man might have a character, even without moral endowments or moral liberty, and simply because he happens to possess certain individual or characteristic features of intellect and sensibility." "But in these natural and necessary constituents of character, and in all the growth and changes through which they are developed, there is constantly present the voluntary element, which is always active, and constantly formative and controlling."

"As character is used in the two senses of natural and moral, so is disposition; it may be formed and fixed by nature under the law of creation, hereditary, or development; or it may be moulded, wholly or in part, by the soul's voluntary energy. Morally conceived, it is the latter and this only."

"It is important here to observe and repeat, that moral qualities, in the strictest sense, are ultimately affirmed of the activities of the will and of these alone. The will being the center, so to speak, of personal char-

acter and the ground of responsibility, affects all the other inward and outward activities of the man." "The character is right or wrong, inasmuch as it is its supreme voluntary activity, its controlling principle or motive." "The intellectual judgments, opinions, and habits, also, are tried by ethical standards, and pronounced to be morally right or wrong so far as these are supposed to be influenced directly or remotely by the voluntary purpose of the man. Last of all, the external actions, so far as they are under the control of the will, and are the manifestations and products of good or evil volitions, are judged to be morally good or bad, and are so called."

Now the above statement of Dr. Porter's theory of the Will shows clearly where he stands in regard to the question of "free will." His doctrine is a *via media* between what is known now as Absolute Indeterminism and Absolute Determinism. The former doctrine attributes absolute spontaneity to the will, while the latter regards the will as absolutely necessitated in its activity. Dr. Porter's theory is what is known now as Relative Indeterminism. It holds that the activity of the will is not conditionless, and at the same time that the will has its own peculiar mode of activity in choosing its objects; that the act of choosing, being an act of preference, supposes that two objects are present, or within reach and possible notice. In this theory of the will Dr. Porter's characteristic candor and acumen cannot fail to be noticed. Nothing is so easy as to be an extremist; but truth is rarely found in extreme notions. Nothing is so difficult as

to be many-sided and judicious, but truth is often placed where it is difficult to attain.

Now passing to Dr. Porter's theory of the Intellect, and its functions in the moral activities and experiences, we find him noting the fact, "that the intellect is more or less active in the moral experiences is universally recognized." "What is the nature and what are the conditions and what are the results of this activity?" These are questions in regard to which much difference of opinion prevails, and sharp controversies are still kept alive. These questions concerning the functions of the intellect are two-fold, — viz., psychological and metaphysical, — the one involving the other.

What then are the functions of the intellect in the moral activities and experiences? The functions which the intellect performs in the moral activities and experiences are the discovering of the norm or standard of duty in the natural capacities of man, and the imposing it as a law for the voluntary activities. Morality is the necessary product of "two conspicuous human endowments — the reflective intellect and the voluntary impulses or affections." "So soon as the reflective intellect conceives of any ideal whatever for aspiration or control — so soon as it recognizes such an ideal, it necessarily imposes it as a law for the voluntary activities. This ideal, thus recognized and imposed, becomes a moral law; in other words, so soon as the intellect reflects upon the several sensibilities which are subject to the control of the will, as compared with one another,

it must find a standard of ideal desirableness or worth for its springs of action. So soon as it proposes to itself the question, How are they to be applied or controlled by the Will? the reflecting man imposes this ideal upon the choosing man as a law of voluntary action; *i. e.*, of conduct and character. So far, also, as the reflecting or self-conscious man finds in the relative excellence of these springs of action, or in their effects, an indication of the ends or purposes to which man's capacities for action are adopted, so far does he find in this constitution of his being an additional force of law, compelling his rational approval, and requiring his voluntary consent."

"According to this theory, the moral relations, so far as they are rational or intellectual, are not original categories, but are the necessary result of a special application of the categories of adaptation or design. It also follows that the sentiments of self-approbation, obligation, and merit, are also special applications of the commonly recognized human sensibilities, as affected by man's free and personal activity when reviewed by man's conscious or reflective judgment. It follows, that the moral nature and the moral faculty are but the other names for the human faculties when employed upon a special subject-matter, and in a peculiar manner. The products of this natural mode of activity are moral ideas and moral emotions. It is held, further, that these products, so far as they are generalized concepts, can be explained by their genesis, can be analyzed into their constituents, and defined by them. Moreover, they can

be recognized as holding important relations with the other laws and forces of the universe, and so take their place in the general theory of matter and spirit."

"Upon this theory, also, the moral sentiments can be fully justified as being not only the most powerful, but the most rational, emotions which man experiences, and thus vindicate their acknowledged right to be supreme in their authority over man and in the counsels and laws of the Supreme Reason."

The theory above expounded is supported by the following considerations :

(1) Moral qualities and relations are affirmed only of spiritual beings and their voluntary acts. Hence "bodily activities alone are neither right nor wrong." "Acts of pure cognition are by themselves neither right nor wrong." "Acts of emotion as such, *i. e.*, considered apart from the will, have no moral quality."

(2) "That the volitions may be judged to be morally right or wrong, they must be measured or tried by some *standard*. The standard by which they are tried is the natural capacities of the agent." "Every man, so far as he reflects upon his several desires and impulses, knows his nature and capacities, knows their comparative excellence, in the natural good which their exercise involves." "So soon as he compares these emotions, he judges the one to be better, naturally better, than the other, even before he has allowed or repressed either by his will. So far as he compares and reflects upon what he is capable of in the better of these impulses, he must form a standard of ideal good. The standard he

must in some sense desire to make real by conforming to it his will." "He cannot do otherwise as a rational being. Thus, by combining freedom with self-consciousness, man becomes a law to himself by the necessity of his own being. The reflecting man must necessarily become the law-giver to the choosing man."

(3) "He also finds the end or design for which he exists in the constitution and capacities of his being which we have noticed. So soon as the question is suggested to his thoughts, 'For what do I exist, and how can I fulfill the end of my being?' he cannot but answer, 'In choosing the highest object, or obeying the best impulses which my nature provides for or makes possible.' " "So soon as the purpose or end for which anything exists is discerned as supreme, it is at once accepted as the rightful or reasonable law of its acting, whether this acting is necessary or free. Pre-eminently is this true of a free and reflecting being, who knows the end of his living self by a direct and conscious insight into the nature and degree of the good which he can propose to himself as the law of his active energy. The authority of such a law is resistless, springing out of his very nature, and discerned by his reason, beyond which there is no appeal."

(4) "The processes analyzed give the essential elements of the conception of moral good, and enable us to define it as follows: Moral good is the voluntary choice of the highest natural good possible to man, as known to himself and by himself, and interpreted as the end of his existence and activities."

(5) "The processes described can be performed at a very early age." "Whatever view may be taken of the nature of the standard, all agree that the child must regard its own activities with discriminating self-inspection in order to compare and judge them by a moral rule. But, if the child is capable of this self-inspection in order to *apply* the rule, it may use the same self-inspection, to *discover* the rule in its own natural capacities for higher and lower good. The fact that the child is capable of this self-inspection is evident from the method employed by parents and teachers to awaken children to the apprehension of the import of moral distinctions." "This process of self-judgment may begin with the child's rudimentary life, and be matured and trained with the development of its powers." "As the child's conceptions of the possibilities of his nature enlarge, just so rapidly does the standard of moral goodness rise." "The law proposed by self-reflecting reason is indeed an *ideal law*. It presents what is possible, not what is actually achieved. The inner law-giver imagines what he might be, before he affirms what he is."

"Thus far have we confined our attention almost exclusively to man's relations to himself; *i.e.*, to the workings of his nature, were we to suppose that he existed alone. Such a view limits very narrowly the range of man's duties, as, indeed, of his experiences and knowledge of every kind. In order to expand this range, he must know that his fellows are moral beings like himself, under the same moral law, and designed for the same perfection. How does he know this? We

answer, The same indications which show his fellows to be human prove them to be moral also. If my fellow men are like me in being men, they are like me in being subject to the same rule of voluntary action, in proposing to themselves the same ends, and judging of themselves by the same standards. They exist for the same ends with myself,—the voluntary realization of the same perfection. They together constitute a social whole in the adaptations of their nature to a moral organism, under the economy of reason and of God. If this is so, the well-being of each is not only compatible with, but is conducive to the well-being of all others. If the voluntary recognition of the good of my fellow man is the noblest use of my own nature, then the reciprocal return of benevolence from him to me blesses him as well as myself. If I believe in an orderly or rationally constituted system or society of beings like myself, as I must in order to have any reasoned or scientific knowledge of them at all, I must believe that the best good of each is conducive to and compatible with the best good of all together, and that, whenever I sacrifice for the whole, I must achieve my highest good, not only in the inward experiences of benevolence, but in the external and corporeal acts to which these impel, and to their results in the economy of the universe. To desire my own well-being is necessary and right, because I thereby secure the end for which I exist. To sacrifice my private and separate good when it is in conflict with the good of others is also right, because my highest good in an orderly universe of moral beings can never conflict

with the well-being of the commonwealth; and this is a still higher good and nobler end."

"If the relations of man to nature, as well as to his fellows, may be interpreted in their possibilities and their ends, we reasonably assume that moral ends are supreme over both nature and man. If we raise our thoughts still higher, and recognize each individual, as also society and nature, as the work of a personal creator, for the manifestation and fulfillment of definite and consistent purposes in a coherent and rational universe, we shall accept the conclusion that the moral ends are not only supreme, but that they express the will and law of God."

The conditions of the intellectual functions in the moral experience are man's powers and capacities of feeling, with which he is furnished by his natural constitution. This was implied in the statement that moral good is the voluntary choice of the highest natural good possible to man, etc.

Results of Reflection. The question here is, How does the discernment or development of moral relations by the processes described above, necessarily involve and account for those sentiments and emotions which are universally recognized as moral? But what are those sentiments and emotions universally recognized as moral? They are three in number, viz.:

- (1) Self-approbation or disapprobation;
- (2) The sense of obligation;
- (3) Merit or demerit.

(1) Self-approbation and disapprobation are peculiar emotions. Their uniqueness is due to their origin. "Both these affections of self-favor or disfavor to himself must in their nature and experience be unique, both as they are personal affections" in distinction from impersonal affections, "and as the person is at once the giver and receiver of the love or hatred."

(2) The feeling of obligation comes next in order. This feeling is always felt towards a person, and imports a future activity, — an activity as yet not chosen or executed. The feeling is unique, as the moral law is not arbitrary law but a law imposed upon us by our inmost nature. "The recognition of an activity as one for which our nature is fitted, involves an authority still higher than the respect paid to any mere force stronger than ourselves, because it commends itself to our reverence for rational order. It is not our caprice that imposes this authority, not our voluntary will, nor any single impulse or desire, but our nature as a whole, in the mutual adaptation of all its impulses, and their harmonious working with the forces of the universe. It is not a mere blind force, or combination of forces, but an adjustment that is rational in its adaptation and working for the highest ends known or conceived by us. There is no authority more majestic than that of self-conviction concerning our capacities as revealing our destined functions, when enforced by self-approbation or self-reproach." The feeling here spoken of is not limited to our fellow men but is lifted up to God. "The human mind first understands by obligation some constraint

imposed by the command of another." But the external simply symbolizes and suggests the internal. "Very soon the two are blended together; and the one practically supplements the other, which it symbolizes and enforces to the advantage and strengthening of both."

(3) The third is Merit or Demerit. "They suppose and imply the existence of a community of moral beings. It is of his fellow men or his creator that a man is said or conceded to deserve good or ill. The merit or demerit of purposes and action is their capacity to elicit or command from others such feelings of approval or disapproval as the bestowers themselves shall approve or disapprove."

"Hitherto we have been concerned with the feelings and purposes." But morality cannot be limited to the intentions alone. "It gives law to the actions also, passing judgment upon the doings as truly as upon the affections and purposes." "We mean by the actions all corporeal activities whatever;" "these actions are of consequence, for the following reasons: they execute the purposes, they manifest or express them, they strengthen them, they make them habitual and spontaneous."

"The terms Right and Wrong are primarily applied only to the voluntary purposes, and to these alone." "But they are also applied to diverse subject-matter." "This variety of application, however, involves neither inconsistency nor contradiction of thought."

"We distinguish between the act and intention more exactly and effectually, by availing ourselves of the terms

absolute and relative rightness." "Absolute rightness is a rightness which is absolute, or perfect; relative rightness, on the other hand, is affirmed with respect to the intention only, or to the external action only."

"In what sense is morality external and immutable? This is interchangeable with the question whether moral beings, one or more, shall continue to exist?" "Morality must always signify a fixed relationship between the relations and acts of a moral being and his capacities. We affirm with confidence, that, whenever and wherever a moral person exists, his moral activities must have constant and unalterable relations to these capacities." Moreover "the so-called ethical emotions must also be uniform in their character, and follow the ethical judgments in the experience of all moral beings."

"That the judgments of men concerning the right and wrong of particular actions are very largely the products of their circumstances and their education, is too obvious to admit of question." "That their moral emotions are similarly influenced, seems equally obvious." We see this fact in that development of the moral judgments and feelings which is determined by the general laws of psychological growth.

(1) Ethical growth of the individual. The child early learns the lessons of self-control in learning that those objects which satisfy his longings cannot be obtained without effort and that one desire cannot be gratified without foregoing another. He also learns soon that others are stronger than himself, — lessons of subjection to others. Then gradually he begins to distinguish be-

tween responsibility to others and to one's self. After this he gradually begins to look within and discovers the moral standard within his own soul. "Man reaches the final stage in the development of his moral consciousness when he distinctly recognizes the truth that he is a law to himself; that, in his natural capacities, he finds the aim and standard for his voluntary activities, and that according to their compliance with this law, or their failure, he must approve or condemn himself." "These steps however are not independent of social instruction and social influences."

(2) Social influences as helps or hindrances in morals. "The most conspicuous of social influences in the development of the moral judgments and feelings are education, public sentiment, civil government, and religion." "These operate (a) in presenting additional motives besides those of conscience alone; (b) in addressing these motives to our regard for the favor and disfavor of others." They do not create moral judgments and feelings; but they aid the reflective faculty by instruction, and by exciting to reflection. "They present new hopes and fears, with or against those of conscience."

The last chapter in the analysis of man's moral nature is on the Conscience. Here Dr. Porter teaches that (a) Conscience should not be used as an appellation for a separate or special moral faculty, for the reason that there is no such faculty. (b) "The conscience is very frequently used to designate the entire moral constitution or nature of man, whatever this is conceived to be."

"But the Will, being the capacity for moral choices, is never included under the Conscience except in the loosest and vaguest use of the appellation." "The will furnishes the object-matter about which the conscience judges and feels." "Conscience, therefore, is limited to the intellect and sensibility when employed upon a special subject-matter." That is, *Conscience is the intellect and sensibility in those judgments (of intellect) and emotions (of sensibility) which have to do with acts and states of the will.* "The term conscience has still another more popular and figurative application. It is not limited to these functions which we have named. It also designates the *results* of these operations in the special judgments or conclusions which are reached in regard to matters of duty, and the special feelings which follow."

Having shown that conscience as a power includes the two elements of intellect and feeling, Dr. Porter observes :

(1) "That as an intellectual power it is subject to the conditions and laws of the intellect as employed upon various kinds of subject-matter." How far is it infallible and how far fallible? "In respect to certain relations and questions of duty, it is infallible, while in respect to others it is fallible." "It follows, that conscience as the intellect is the subject of various degrees of certainty in its judgments."

(2) "Conscience, as Sensibility, follows the laws of the emotions. The feelings invariably follow the judgments whether they are right or wrong."

(3) "Conscience, both as intellect and sensibility, can be cultivated and developed." "This is evident from the

fact that intellect and sensibility are capable of development and culture."

(4) "As conscience can be cultivated and enlightened, so it can be abused and darkened." But it cannot be destroyed.

(5) "The question is often asked, whether a man is always right in obeying his conscience?" "If the question means, does a man always do that which is relatively right when he obeys his conscience, the answer is, 'By no means.'" "But if the question is 'Does a man err if he follows the judgment or command of his conscience as to what should be the controlling purpose of his will?' the answer is, 'He cannot possibly be in the wrong in respect to such a judgment or such an act.'"

(6) "Is a man ever justified in acting against his conscience?" "If this question means, Would a man ever perform a right action outwardly, should he act in a manner diverse from that prescribed by his conscience? we answer, Unfrequently he would." "But if the question means, Is a man ever morally justified in disobeying his conscience? we answer unhesitatingly: No." "Besides the mistaken there is the perverted or dishonest conscience."

(7) "Is it ever best not to reason?" It is sometimes said "It is better to trust the feelings than arguments. In questions of duty it is wiser and safer to follow the impulses of sentiment, rather than the conclusions of logic." "If a man cannot master the relations involved in a question of duty, so as to reason clearly and wisely, it were better to rest in a decision without attempting

to construct an argument." "This rule is no more true and wise in morals, however, than it is in other departments of intellectual activity." "To trust the feelings alone in disputed or perplexed questions of duty, is unsound in theory, and unsafe if not fanatical, in practice. The feelings are always impulsive and blind." "On the other hand, the disciplined conscience has gained by its manifold inductions a species of tact which is akin to intuition. The sensitiveness of its ethical emotions has been matured to a corresponding delicacy."

It may be of interest to quote in this connection a few sentences which show what was Dr. Porter's view of the relation of Moral Science to Theism and Christianity. He says: "The fact cannot escape the thoughtful reader, that end, and adaptation, and design, and even God, are assumed as categories of thought in our explanation of the nature of moral relations as originally developed and reflectively formulated in and to the human mind. The same is equally obvious in the explanation given of the corresponding emotions, particularly that of obligation." ["Should it be said,] If this is granted or assumed, then [the interpretation and discovery of the moral law must involve the distinct recognition of God as giving it reality and authority, we reply, This is no more true in ethics than it is in physics.] It does not follow, however, that the moral categories must be analyzed and applied with a distinct apprehension of their complete import in order to their control over the intellect and feelings. If a man goes so far as to know his inmost nature, he can understand the reality

and the authority of the moral law which his own nature reveals, whether or not he recognizes 'a power not himself' behind it. [It does not follow, that] because the recognition of design or of a purpose involving authority or law; involves faith in the living God, when all its implications are 'evolved,' that therefore [ethics must necessarily imply the distinct and constant recognition of a theology. And yet it may be true that a reflective analysis of our faith in the moral order of the universe may show that it logically implies faith in God, as truly as our faith in its natural order implied faith in a divine Architect."]

"Moral Science is not superfluous, but is the more necessary for those who accept a supernatural revelation of duty. It may be said or thought, that whenever the principles or rules of duty are fixed and declared by authority, whether human or divine, the necessity of any scientific study of either is superseded." "To this it may be replied, that the so-called principles of duty which are revealed to man are not principles in the scientific sense, but are usually practical maxims or comprehensive directions which respect the feelings or conduct. Even these, however, imply an underlying philosophy of facts and relations. To develop and state these philosophical truths is the special function of moral science, and is as much needed with respect to revealed as to natural ethics, and perhaps more."

"The study of moral science is favorable to faith in the Christian revelation. The most decisive evidence of the truth and authority of this revelation is furnished by

its moral import, and its adaptation to the moral nature and necessities of man. To feel the force of this argument, and even to understand its import, one must first do justice to the fact on which it rests, *i.e.* to the moral nature and wants of man, on the one hand, as furnishing the occasion for a revelation; and to the moral import of Christianity, on the other, as adapted to these wants. The study of moral science holds the attention to both these data, or terms of argument, in such a way as to lead us to believe in the reality, and appreciate the significance of both. So far as it is favorable to belief in duty and to an intelligent and reflective appreciation of its importance, so far must it prepare the mind to judge justly and to measure practically the adaptation to man's needs of a revelation, the most decisive argument for which is, that it could never have originated in the invention or aspiration or fancies of man alone."

In conclusion it may not be needless to state once more the characteristic features of Dr. Porter's ethical theory. The most characteristic feature of his theory of morals is the truth that man's moral experience and activities involve his threefold powers,—the powers of sensibility, will, and intellect. If any of these powers is wanting in man, there will be no moral phenomena in the world. Moral relations and qualities are not originated by a special sensibility called the "moral sense"; nor are they produced by a special kind of intellect called the "moral reason"; nor are they the creation of a faculty called the "practical reason" which presents to the will an authoritative judgment technically called

the "categorical imperative." They are products of the threefold functions of the human mind. It is held by some that man has certain original moral powers superadded to the intellect, sensibility and will. From these special endowments arise man's moral experiences as separate and quasi-independent functions. In other words, some hold or imply that man might be a complete man and yet be incapable of moral judgments and feelings. Dr. Porter in opposition to all ethical theories of this class, maintains that man's moral nature is his entire psychical endowments applied to a special subject-matter, and employed in a special mode of activity. He denies that there is any special moral faculty or faculties. This is the feature that distinguishes Dr. Porter's theory of morals from what is known as Intuitionism, and also from what is commonly designated the moral sense theory. His theory is also opposed to and distinguished from the school that attempts to explain the origin of man's moral nature as resulting from his physical environment, or as grounded on the mere will of a superior being or beings; in short, he rejects what is known as "Heteronomic theories" in moral science. Dr. Porter affirms against them that man's moral nature is nothing but his human nature. Hence a man cannot be a man without being moral. His nature reveals to him his law; hence he is autonomous. No external force or power can make him moral if he were not moral by his nature. Moral law is a spontaneous growth of his entire nature. Such, in short, is Dr. Porter's theory concerning the origin of moral law.

Now about the test or criterion of right and wrong. He rejected the doctrine of the intuitional school that an act is good because it is right, and maintained that it is right because it is good. But on the other hand he did not approve the doctrine of the Hedonistic school that right is always known by "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." He insists upon the distinction between natural good and moral good. Moral good rests on natural good; there can be no moral good without natural good. He recognizes also a difference of quality in pleasures as higher and lower. He believes we ought, therefore, to seek the noblest happiness and not the greatest happiness; whenever and wherever a higher and a lower pleasure conflict, we should prefer the higher one. Hence Dr. Porter agrees with the Hedonists in making good the basis of morals, but differs from them in recognizing qualitative differences in goods in addition to their quantitative differences.

To what school then does Dr. Porter's theory of morals belong? It may not be greatly unjust if it is classed with those known as "Rational Eudemonism." Hence his theory belongs to the same type as that of Aristotle among the Greek moralists and as that of Janet in more recent times. This general position of Dr. Porter in ethics reveals the two most characteristic features of his mind — candor and comprehensiveness, the same traits which mark the writings of Aristotle. Dr. Porter recognized both truth and error in all conflicting schools of morals, and he was ready to accept truths wherever found. What the science of morals

urgently needs to-day is Dr. Porter's type of mind, not ashamed to conserve whatever is true and best in the thought of the past, not afraid to welcome new truths which our daily growing sciences bring to light. For the progress of moral science is not a mere change from one theory to another, but is according to the law of comprehension and enlargement, that preserves the elements of truth in all the theories of the past and adds to them new ones continually. We have much in ethics yet to learn from Plato and Aristotle, as we have from Darwin and Spencer. Ethical truth is no exclusive monopoly of any school or party.

The writer of this brief statement of Dr. Porter's theory of morals has endeavored to present in the shortest compass the main points of his theory, but it is feared that complete justice has not been done to the subject. It is hoped, however, that this brief paper will awaken an interest in those who have not yet examined his treatise on morals, to learn directly from his book, and a renewed interest in those who had the privilege of his instruction, to take up his treatise again with a grateful recollection of the author and learn more fully those lessons which he taught them in the days that are gone. If they do this, the writer is sure that they will be impressed with his simple, clear and terse style and his comprehensive, judicious and penetrating thoughts. In these features of his writing, no pupil of Dr. Porter would fail to see his noble character and large personality. For a man's style reveals his character and a man's thought reflects the personality behind it.

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